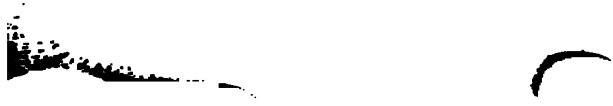

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING EVENTS

IN THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF THE MILESIANS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH A CONCISE NOTICE OF

THE ANCIENT O'CONNORS OF ROSCOMMON AND SLIGO.

BY

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THE FOLLOWING PAGES

Are Inscribed

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

JOHN, LORD BARON DE FREYNE,

OF FRENCHPARK,

IN THE COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE important and interesting events detailed in the following succinct Narrative of the History of Ireland, from the invasion of the Milesians to the grant of Catholic Emancipation in the year 1829, have been collected with great care and impartiality from the most reliable sources, including the Annals of Ireland, Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University, the Historical Works of O'Flaherty, Keatinge, Leland, Abbé M'Geoghegan, Charles O'Conor, D. D., Macaulay, D'Alton, Moore, and others of less importance. We do not deem it advisable to enter into the agitation and petty disturbances which have since occurred, or their unhappy consequences, which no longer attract public attention; and have designedly avoided the discussion of mere party questions. The present advancement and prosperity of Ireland has done much towards the removal of dissatisfaction and discontent. We all now know and feel the advantages we derive from our union with England; and our ambition is, to form a substantial and real portion of the great and glorious Empire of our estimable Sovereign, and to enjoy the blessings of

the freest Constitution on the face of the globe. Grievances, real or imaginary, will always be required for the Irish hustings, and successive trials of parliamentary strength between her Majesty's opposition and her Majesty's ministers; and the volatile nature, and extreme gullibility of the Irish, render them excellent manufacturers of such articles: England furnishes the *coals*, and we are never tired *blowing them*.

In order that this unpretending little work may be suited to the purpose for which it is intended, and afford useful information respecting the history of Ireland to persons who are not likely to devote their time to the perusal either of voluminous or too expensive works, all unnecessary detail has been purposely excluded; and as many long periods afford but few incidents worthy of notice, an arrangement is adopted which will lead the reader, without waste of time, to those events and circumstances which may with truth be said to constitute the history of the country.

UPPER LEESON-STREET,
DUBLIN, *October*, 1858.

OUTLINE OF CONTENTS.

IRISH HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

When we reflect on the great antiquity of Ireland, that it was inhabited for so many centuries before the birth of Christ, and find her history written in a language so little known, and in so exaggerated a strain, we must expect to discover but few reliable traces of the origin, laws, and customs of her ancient people. We may, however, very reasonably infer, from the statements and conjectures of eminent and indefatigable Irish historians, that her first inhabitants were of Scythian origin, and that, according to the computation of Roderic O'Flaherty, whose writings form the purest source we have of ancient Irish history, they first landed on the coast of Ireland three hundred and twelve years after the deluge: that others, who were considered to have been Canaanites or Phœnicians, expelled from the

land of Canaan about fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, and who had previously formed settlements in Africa, came from thence and established themselves on the northern coast of Ulster, and that their laws, customs, and religious worship differed very immaterially, if at all, from the laws, customs, and religious worship of the numerous tribes then wandering throughout Europe with their flocks and herds, wives and families, in search of settlements suited to their predatory habits and primitive mode of living.

The Milesians, who deserve a greater portion of our attention, are said to have passed from Spain into Ireland during the reign of Solomon, about a thousand years before the Christian era, and many centuries before the Romans became acquainted with Spain, and, like their predecessors, to have been of Scythian origin. We are told that *Niul*, the younger son of a Scythian king, migrated to Egypt, married the daughter of Pharoah, then king of that country, and settled on the borders of the Red Sea; that he had a son named Goadhal, whose followers were named Gadelians, and who, on his expulsion from Egypt, visited Scythia under the guidance of *Eiber*, or *Eber*, the Scythian; hence they

got the name *Cineadh Scut*, i. e., the race of the Scyths, or Scythians, and this was latinised to Scoti, and anglicised to Scots, all which signify Scythians.

We are also told that they again migrated to Africa, where, according to O'Flaherty, they formed settlements in Getulia, from whence they sent a colony into Spain, overcame the race of Tubal, the descendants of Japhet, and established themselves in Iberia. Breogan, their chief, had a son, who, from being a celebrated warrior, acquired the name of *Milidth Espaine*, (Spanish hero,) latinised to Milesius, whose posterity were named *Clanna Mileadh*, anglicised to Milesians.*

Milesius is said to have visited Scythia, the country of his ancestors, where he married *Seang*, the king's daughter, by whom he had two sons, *Donn* and *Teabruadh*. Upon her death he sailed from thence to Egypt, and there married *Scota*, the daughter of Pharoah Nectonabus, by whom he had several sons. Only three of his sons, *Heber*, *Hereman*, and *Amergin*, with their followers, reached Ireland on the Milesian invasion, and became masters

* "Annals of Ireland." Connellan's edition.

of the country, in which *Hereman* acquired sovereign authority, and reigned for a period of fourteen years.

In these early periods of Irish history very few incidents could have occurred worthy of our particular attention, or of much interest to the general reader, however profoundly antiquarians may dispute about them. It would be quite beyond the scope of this little work to dwell on such matters, or to interfere in such mysterious disputes; those who may wish to become acquainted with them, must seek for information in more cumbrous volumes. With respect to the government of the country, the monarchical form, adopted by Milesius, seems to have been maintained, without interruption, until the arrival of the English in the twelfth century; and *Eochaidh* IX., who reigned a thousand years later than *Hereman*, was the person who erected the petty provincial kingdoms, an impolitic and disastrous proceeding, which led to interminable intestine wars, feuds, and rivalships, and to that proverbial disunion and mistrust, which had no small share in eventually overturning the monarchy.

The provincial kings were originally intended to be the subjects of the supreme monarch, and

not independent dynasties, and to be tributaries to his crown; but enjoying, as they did, the important privilege of electing his successor, and administering justice in their own names, they gradually assumed a more independent position, and on some occasions declared war against him, or dethroned him. In order to guard against the fatal confusion which a contest for the crown would necessarily create, and perhaps to secure the influence of the reigning monarch in the nomination of his successor, it became customary to elect a successor in his lifetime, who was denominated *Tainiste*; and hence the law regulating the election of such successor was called the law of *Tainistry*.* This law, as herein after mentioned, was wholly abolished, and the English law of primogeniture, whereby the heir at law, whether male or female, took all heritable property, substituted in its place.

The candidate for the crown should prove his descent from one of the *three* sons of Milesius, by the registry of his family, and the psalter of Tarah; he should also be a knight of the golden chain, *Niadh Niask*, so called from

* O'Flaherty's "Ogygia."

a golden chain worn on the neck. This was the only title known by the Milesians after the title of king, and was created by Munemon, 729 years before the birth of Christ, that is, after they had been some centuries in Ireland; from which it is manifest that the Milesians brought no titles of distinction, of any description, from Spain.*

The election of a *Tainiste* did not, however, always prove either satisfactory or decisive, nor was the Milesian succession unbroken. We are told that *Carbre Cincait*, of plebeian origin, obtained the crown of Ireland by one of the most barbarous and diabolical conspiracies recorded in the dark history of human perfidy. Three persons, named Carbre, Monarch, and Brien, formed a conspiracy to destroy the supreme monarch, provincial kings, and princes throughout Ireland, and to seize on the throne; for which purpose they prepared a magnificent feast at a place afterwards appropriately named *Moy Cru*, in the province of Connaught, to which they invited their intended victims: the feast continued for nine days, when, on a signal given, a band of hired assassins fell suddenly

* "Histoire de l'Irelande," par M. l'Abbé McGeoghegan.

on the company, and slaughtered them without distinction of age or sex. The queen miraculously escaped and fled to Scotland, her native country, where she gave birth to a son, named *Tuathal*. *Carbre Cincait* usurped the throne of Ireland, and committed, as might be expected, numerous acts of spoliation and cruelty; he destroyed many important and valuable monuments of antiquity, and records, desiring thereby to efface the recollection of former times, but his unprosperous disloyalty failed to establish a new dynasty. The throne was afterwards restored to the Milesian line, in the person of *Tuathal*, the posthumous son of the monarch so treacherously murdered at the plebeian feast.

The foregoing massacre reminds us of the destruction of the people of Thessalonica, the metropolis of the Illyrian provinces, whom Theodosius, to avenge the murder of Botheric, blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the barbarians. The people were invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the circus, and when assembled, the soldiers received the signal of a general massacre; the carnage continued for three hours, without discrimination, when, on the lowest

with Moses when located on the borders of the Red Sea, we must admit that there are too many traces of their idolatry in Ireland, to allow us to imagine that they turned any such notion to a good account. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with inquiring into the means by which they were converted to the Christian faith.

In the early part of the fifth century both Palladius and St. Patrick preached the gospel in Ireland, and so little progress seems to have been made before the time of St. Patrick, we may, with perfect propriety, attribute the conversion of the Irish people to his holy mission and indefatigable zeal.

It is no easy matter to ascertain either the precise time or place of St. Patrick's birth. Roderic O'Flaherty, in his letter animadverting upon Dr. Chamberlain's subjection of the Irish bishops to the see of Canterbury,* states that we are indebted to Great Britain for the birth of St. Patrick. There are, however, very strong grounds for believing that he was a Frenchman, of Roman extraction, born in the neighbourhood of Boulogne; and Dr.

* Hardiman's "West Connaught, 438."

Lanigan seems to have established that he was born A.D. 387, and died A.D. 465, which is more credible than the supposition that he died in the year 493, at the advanced age of 120 years! though seemingly sustained by some respectable authorities.

St. Patrick's first visit to Ireland was as a captive. He was brought into Ireland at the age of sixteen, and sold as a slave to an Irish prince, named Melcho, in the north of Ireland, in whose service he remained for seven years, when he escaped, and returned to his family in Gaul.

There has been some doubt as to his consecration as a bishop. Dr. Lanigan admits that it cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty, but Roderic O'Flaherty, in his already mentioned letter, states, that, "after having completed his work of the conversion of the kingdom, he founded the metropolitan see of Armagh, A.D. 458. Soon after, he took a journey to Rome, where, without peradventure, he obtained all the authority and privileges (if any before not granted) that were necessary for erecting the hierarchy of church government in the nation by him newly brought to the light of the Gospel."

The original of this valuable document remains in the possession of Lord Antrim.

St. Patrick arrived in Ireland, on his holy mission, A.D. 432, accompanied by pious and learned persons, zealously disposed to promote his success. He landed first at Wicklow, where he was not well received, and then proceeded by sea to Strangford, as Dr. Lanigan conceives. Dicha, prince of that district, was his first convert to the Christian faith. Here he built a church called "*Sabbal Phadraic*," from which the parish of Saul took its name. His old master, Melcho, resisted every effort made to convert him. He proceeded next to Drogheda, and Tarah, where he preached on Easter Monday, A.D. 433, before Laogaire, then supreme monarch of Ireland, and it is said made some converts, though strenuously opposed by the Druids. He afterwards preached at *Tailton*, and at *Usneagh*, a celebrated seat of Druidism in Westmeath. From thence he proceeded to *Annaly*, and *Fenagh* in Leitrim, where he destroyed the idol and great temple of the Druids, and built a church on its ruins. From thence he proceeded to Connaught, where he was most enthusiastically received, and where thousands of Pagans embraced the Christian

faith. In Tyrawley he converted *Enda Crom*, king of that territory, with his seven sons, and baptised 1200 persons in the water of a well, known by the name of *Mallagh Farry*, near Killala. Croagh Patrick was also celebrated for his performances, and is still a favourite place of pilgrimage, much frequented by the peasantry of the county of Mayo. O'Flaherty mentions that six sons of Bryan, king of Connaught, were converted and baptised, with multitudes of the people, on the plains of *Moyseola*, in the county of Roscommon. St. Patrick also founded the episcopal see of Elphin (*Oilfinn*), which took its name from a well sunk there, on the brink of which there was a large stone; *Oilfinn* being derived from *oil*, a stone, and *finn* clear, meaning the rock of the limpid water. From Connaught, St. Patrick proceeded through Ulster and Leinster, preaching the Gospel, baptising converts, building churches, and consecrating holy persons to propagate the Christian creed. He visited Munster, and at Cashel converted *Ænguss*, prince of that district, and obtained his zealous co-operation. From Munster he returned to Ulster, where he founded the see of Armagh, which became the seat of the primacy of Ireland, having during the mission converted nearly

the whole of Ireland, and consecrated three hundred bishops. He died on the 17th of March, which has since been kept as his festival.

St. Patrick was interred in Down, to which place the remains of St. Bridget and St. Collumkill were removed, to protect them from the barbarous ravages of the Danes. Malachi, bishop of Down, A.D. 1155, had the remains of the three bodies dug up, put into coffins, and placed in one monument in the cathedral of Downpatrick, in the presence of Cardinal Vivian, the Pope's legate, Thomas O'Connor, archbishop of Armagh, fifteen bishops, and a numerous assembly of the clergy. The following inscription was engraved on the monument:

> "Hi tres in duno Tumulo Tumulanter in uno
> Patricius, Brigidi atque Collum Pius."

There were beautiful marble statues of the three saints in the cathedral of Downpatrick until the reign of Henry VIII., when Lord-deputy Grey burned the town and cathedral, and his mischievous soldiers broke the statues, and defaced the inscription.

The doctrines of St. Patrick were purely

scriptural: he never referred to any other authority, such as the voice of tradition, or of the church. The clergy were much venerated by the people, who purchased their prayers by liberal donations, and gave them the firstborn of their cattle as a matter of obligation. Thus the church was amply provided for, but the riches of the clergy were appropriated to the noblest purposes, and their charity was unbounded.

With respect to the laws of the ancient Irish they do not appear to have been written, or reduced to a regular code, until the time of St. Patrick. They were administered by their Brehon judges, in the open air, and too frequently under the influence of not very scrupulous chieftains; but in the time of St. Patrick, eight persons of rank and distinction, of whom he was one, were appointed to form a code of written laws, which was published and known by the name of *Seanchras Noir*, or the great eternity. There were, however, some written laws prior to the code, and it is in one place mentioned that when the property in land is disputed, "the unanimous voices of twelve men should decide the controversy." This is something very like our trial by jury.

All payments, fines, and penalties, were made and rated in cattle or other commodities, and there were certain rates to regulate the bartering of goods, and the taking of gold and silver by weight, but no mention is made of coined money, until it was introduced by the Danes.

The tributes paid by the petty provincial kings to the supreme sovereign, and also the tributes paid to them by subordinate chieftains, were all paid in cattle, clothes, and goods of various sorts, and were rather given as benevolences, or voluntary donations, than as a token of subjection, though prescribed, and ascertained, by custom, and frequently the cause of war and strife when withheld. The supreme monarch secured the attachment and service of the provincial kings, by donations of a similar character, in return for which they were required to attend him, on his military excursions, for a fixed period, but no longer; and the provincial kings and chieftains retained their subjects and followers by similar donations, and received similar service from them in their wars and factious contentions.

The power and government of the provincial kings in their respective provinces resembled

those of the supreme monarch. Petty chieftains had also their clans, in which no one was bound to remain longer than he chose: on his admission he adopted the name of the clan, and on his death or departure a new distribution of the land of the clan was made.

Throughout the whole country the tenure of land determined with the life of the possessor; there was no such thing as inheritance by descent,* and both princes and people dwelt in houses made of hurdles, which were easily constructed on those new distributions of the land.

Hospitality was the cardinal virtue of the Irish in all ages; it was even enjoined by their laws. The chieftain could exact his cosherring, his cuddies, and his bonnaught for himself and his attendants, which, under the more modern name of coyne and livery, became so oppressive in later times; even the lowest of the people claimed reception and refreshment as a right, and the poor wandering beggar still enters the country farm-house with an air of confidence,

* "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare," by Rev. Charles O'Conor, D D., author of "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," and other historical works.

which looks like a remnant of the ancient authority.

The laws provided against all crimes, even against talebearing and disrespect to superiors, but the greatest crimes were punished by very inadequate fines, so that when the English government proposed sending a sheriff into a district not theretofore under its control, the governor was requested at the same time to fix on the *eric*, or fine, to be paid for him, in case he should be killed.

THE DANISH WARS.

We shall now enter on one of the most calamitous events in the early history of Ireland—the invasion of the Danes. They came from Scandinavia, which comprised Norway, Sweden, and that extensive range west of the gulf of Bothnia, originally possessed by two Asiatic tribes, the Goths and Swedes. From the Goths sprung a colony headed by Dan, from whom they took the name of Danes. Having invaded France, England, and Scotland, they now turned their thoughts to Ireland. They were aided in their predatory and piratical excursions by their king, who participated in the spoil, and received a large share of the booty. They were expert mariners, and unscrupulous marauders; and their cold, sterile, and overpeopled country furnished an inexhaustible supply of bold and warlike adventurers, ready to undertake any enterprise in search of plunder. Their incursions were alike ruinous to all classes; they

burned towns, monasteries, and churches, and wantonly massacred the inoffensive and unarmed inhabitants of the country. Such were the Danes who landed on the coast of Munster in the year seven hundred and ninety-eight, when Airtre was king of that province. He collected his forces, and drove them to their ships, with great slaughter. It is said that they left no less than four hundred dead on the field of battle. In a few years after they made a similar descent on the eastern coast, where they spread dismay and terror in every direction. They pillaged the celebrated abbey of Bangor, killed the bishop, massacred the monks, and carried off immense booty. Encouraged by their success, and allured by the prospect of fresh plunder, Turgesius, son of the king of Norway, made a more formidable descent on the northern coast, where he plundered the church of Armagh, destroyed the university, and massacred such of the students as were unable to make their escape. He stationed his ships in Lough Neagh and in the Shannon, and was soon sufficiently established to assume unlimited authority in the country. Hugh VI., then supreme monarch of Ireland, paid little or no attention to the progress he was making, but led his army into

Leinster, to subdue some refractory chieftains, and seemed to emulate the wanton cruelty of the Danes, in devastating the land, and pillaging the unarmed and helpless inhabitants.

His successor, Connor, had to contend against still more serious difficulties. The Danes had more extensive settlements, and augmented their numbers by large reinforcements; they were, however, vigorously assailed by Connor, who gained several victories over them, but so inexhaustible were their resources, and so overwhelming their reinforcements after each defeat, that all his efforts were unavailing, and we are told that he died in the year eight hundred and thirty-three, of grief and vexation, and was succeeded by *Nial.*

A large fleet now arrived, with considerable reinforcements, under the command of Turgesius, and extensive portions of Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster were devastated by their barbarous incursions. They burned the celebrated cathedral of *Cluan Mac Noisk*, on the banks of the Shannon, seized Armagh, and expelled the bishop and the students of the university. They now formed settlements in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, and constructed raths throughout the country.

Nial, impressed with the necessity of stemming the progress of his powerful and unscrupulous invaders, collected his forces, and took the field against them; gave them battle at Doire, in Ulster, and again at Tirconnell, and gained complete victories over them; but, unhappily, did not long survive his glorious success. Intending to cross the river at Callan, which had been raised above its ordinary level by a recent flood, he ordered one of his officers to try the ford. In making the attempt he was borne away by the violence of the current, and thrown from his horse. *Nial*, impelled by a generous anxiety for the safety of his attendant, dashed forward, but on approaching the river, the bank, which was worn away by the stream, yielded beneath his horse's feet, and the heroic *Nial* was precipitated into the river, and drowned in the presence of his victorious troops.

Malachi I. was the successor of *Nial*. He was a weak prince, quite unequal to contend against Turgesius, or to overcome the difficulties he had to encounter, and yet he attained, by stratagem, what no power within his reach seemed likely to accomplish. Turgesius was every day gaining additional strength, and

governed with despotic tyranny. He appointed governors, quartered soldiers on the people, imposed an annual tax of an ounce of gold on the head of each family, and in default of payment, cut off their noses; hence it got the name of *Airgiod Srone* (nose money).

The churches and monasteries were either converted into pagan temples or burned; all social intercourse was forbidden, and the people were even constrained to wear a prescribed form of dress. Such was the tyranny of this barbarian when he considered his authority established, and his power irresistible.

Turgesius, who only acknowledged Malachi as king of Meath, had a magnificent palace in the immediate neighbourhood of the fallen monarch, and having seen and admired his beautiful daughter Melcha, did not hesitate to demand her as a concubine. Malachi, who secretly resolved on revenge, feigned compliance, and promised that she should attend at the palace of Turgesius, accompanied by a suitable train of female attendants, and having selected fifteen young men, on whose courage and determination he could safely rely, sent them to escort Melcha, disguised as females,

but well armed for the conflict. They proceeded to the tyrant's palace, were courteously received, and, suddenly casting away their female attire, drew their swords, seized Turgesius, and massacred his attendants. Malachi was soon admitted with a chosen band of soldiers, and Turgesius was afterwards led in chains to Lough Annin, in Westmeath, and cast into the lake in the presence of thousands of exulting spectators.

Malachi was now considered the deliverer of his people, and again ascended the throne of Ireland; religion flourished, the churches and monasteries were rebuilt, and the laws were vigorously enforced.

The Danes, however, retained possession of some of their acquisitions, affected submission, and became tributaries to particular chieftains, over whom Malachi exercised very slight control, and who for selfish purposes encouraged and retained them.

A new colony arrived under three leaders, *Amlave*, *Sitrick*, and *Ivar*, and were injudiciously permitted to become masters of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, and of other maritime places, which they gradually enlarged and fortified in a manner then un-

known to the Irish, and rapidly increased in number and importance.*

Malachi I. governed his subjects with humanity and wisdom, and formed some alliances with foreign states: he gained several victories over his enemies, and died in the year eight hundred and seventy-three. He was interred with great pomp at Cluan-mac-Noisk, and succeeded by Hugh VII., son of the heroic Nial.

The Danes renewed their incursions in his reign, and in one of them burned Armagh, and massacred the inhabitants. Hugh VII. was succeeded by Flan, son of Malachi I., who fought a disastrous battle with the Danes, in which the carnage was dreadful, without any advantageous result to either side, and Hugh, prince of Connaught, was amongst the slain.

Flan was succeeded by Nial, son of Hugh VII., and was soon after killed in a battle with the Danes. He was succeeded by Donagh II., son of Flan, who was more successful, and gained a signal victory over the Danes at *Keannaghta Breagh*, in Meath, where he avenged the death

* "Histoire de l'Irelande," par M. l'Abbé McGeoghegan. Tom. i.

of his predecessor by killing several Danish chiefs, and devastating their lands. About this time Keallachan, king of Munster, was involved in an obstinate war with the Danes, whom he defeated in numerous engagements, whereupon Sitrick, the Danish chief of Dublin, seeing that he could not overcome him in the field, resolved on having recourse to stratagem, to get him within his power. With this view he proposed to make peace, at the same time offering him his sister, the beautiful princess of Denmark, in marriage.

Keallachan, deceived by his professions, imprudently set out for Dublin with a magnificent train, but on approaching the city was suddenly surrounded, and with Dunchan, son of the king of Thomond, made prisoner, hurried off to Armagh, and placed in close confinement.

The chiefs of Munster, indignant at such perfidious conduct, collected a powerful force, and marched to Armagh under the command of Donagh M'Keefe, an officer of great military reputation, and at the same time sent a well-equipped fleet, under the command of Failbhe Fionn, prince of Thomond, an experienced mariner, to cut off an escape of the enemy by sea. The

Munster army hastened by forced marches, and Sitrick led his forces to meet them. A sanguinary engagement ensued, in which the Munster troops fought with irresistible fury, were completely victorious, and the vanquished Danes fled from the field. In the mean time the prisoners were removed from Armagh to Dundalk, and embarked with Sitrick on board the Danish fleet. Donagh M'Keefe marched to Dundalk, but had the mortification to find the prisoners placed beyond his reach. The fleet unexpectedly arrived, and a fierce engagement ensued, in which Failbhe Fionn was killed in Sitrick's ship, which he gallantly boarded. Fionngal, next in rank to him, was by his side, and took his place, and being hard pressed, and nearly overcome, adopted an expedient unrivalled in the history of naval warfare. He rushed on Sitrick, in the midst of the fight, seized him, and plunged into the sea, where both sank to rise no more.

The Danes having lost their chief, and seeing the determined and unyielding courage of the Irish, struck in a panic; some escaped with their ships to Scotland, the remainder were captured, and Keallachan was landed at Dundalk, from whence he returned to Munster

with his victorious troops, and gained two important victories over the Danes.*

After a reign of twenty-five years Donagh II. died, and was succeeded by Congal, who gained a glorious victory near Dublin, in which the Danes lost four thousand men, and afterwards took the city, and gave it up to be plundered by his victorious troops. He again intercepted them on their return towards Dublin, at *Muine Breagain*, after they had burned the town of Slane and destroyed its church, cut them to pieces, and possessed himself of the enormous booty which they had collected.

Nial succeeded him, and after Nial, Malachi II. became monarch of Ireland. He was valiant and warlike, and gained the celebrated battle of Tarah, in which the Danes lost a thousand men and most of their chiefs. He also took the city of Dublin, where he liberated two thousand prisoners, amongst whom were the kings of Ulster and Leinster. Malachi II., however, gave himself up to the enjoyment of luxury and the pursuit of pleasure, and soon lost his chivalrous character, and all the glory

* "Histoire de l'Irelande," par M. l'Abbé McGeoghegan, Tom. i. 402.

of his brilliant exploits. The Danes still held possession of some maritime towns, and were gradually gaining strength and making encroachments on their neighbours. The princes of Munster and Connaught became alarmed at their progress, and, seeing the coming storm, resolved to raise Brien Boiroihme, a celebrated warrior, then king of Munster, to the throne; whereupon Malachi was forced to abdicate and content himself with Meath, and Brien was elected at Athlone, A.D. 1002, supreme monarch of Ireland, led a powerful army into Ulster, where O'Nial acknowledged his authority, and was afterwards crowned at Tarah.

He enacted many salutary laws, compelled the Danes to restore the property they had unlawfully seized, made them rebuild the churches they had destroyed, encouraged literature, erected fortresses, built bridges over the principal rivers, and greatly improved the condition of the country. He introduced surnames, and each sept or clan assumed the name of some ancestor, to which they prefixed the *Mac* or the *O*, meaning, according to the signification of these Irish articles, the son, or descendant of such ancestor. His descendants took the

surname of O'Brien, and the descendants of Connor, one of the supreme kings already mentioned, took the name of O'Connor.

The Danes now landed very considerable reinforcements, and Brien Boiroihme assembled his forces, and with the kings of Connaught and Malachi II., then king of Meath, and an army of thirty thousand men, under the command of his son Morrough, took the field, to strike a final blow for the independence of his country. The enemy was encamped near Dublin, where the celebrated and decisive battle of Clontarf was fought, on the 23rd April, 1014, in which the Danes lost ten thousand men, and the Irish gained a glorious victory with the loss of seven thousand, but Brien, the noble deliverer of his country, was amongst the slain.

Malachi II. now became supreme monarch of Ireland, and, after a tranquil and prosperous reign, died A.D. 1022, at a very advanced age.

After the death of Malachi there was no acknowledged supreme king for many years. Some provincial princes assumed the title, but could not exercise the authority: they were denominated *Righe Gafra Sabhrach*, signifying kings

with opposition. At length Torlagh O'Connor, king of Connaught, obtained the throne of Ireland, and, from his great achievements, was named Torlagh *More*, or the Great.

THE ENGLISH INVASION.

We have now arrived at an important epoch in the tragical history of Ireland. She had scarcely emerged from a long and painful struggle with the barbarous and cruel Danes, when the ambition of Henry II., and the perfidious conduct of one of her own provincial kings, involved her in new and still more afflicting difficulties. We shall now trace their origin, in our progress, through a period of over five hundred years. Henry II. enjoyed an extent of dominions both in England and France unknown to any of his predecessors, and only sought a pretext and an available opportunity to invade and conquer Ireland. Pope Adrian, who was rapidly extending his jurisdiction, and assuming despotic power over kings and nations, had already sent Cardinal Paparon to Ireland, conferred palls on prelates, enforced the celibacy of the clergy, and introduced new regulations in her national church, by various canons.

Under such circumstances, Henry II., who was a perfect master of dissimulation, affected a design to promote the advancement of religion and the interest of the Holy See, and applied to his Holiness to sanction an invasion of Ireland, for the purpose of carrying out his pretended views, offering him, at the same time, an annual tribute from Ireland, in return for his acquiescence. Pope Adrian was too much flattered by the acknowledgment of his authority by so powerful a sovereign, to hesitate in granting what appeared to him so reasonable a request, and accordingly granted the requisite sanction in the fullest spirit of arrogance and usurpation.* But Henry was not yet in a position to avail himself of the bull he so obtained from Pope Adrian, having enough to do in supporting his claim to Anjou, suppressing a troublesome rebellion in Wales, and struggling against the vexatious assumptions of Thomas à Becket.

Ireland was now governed by Torlagh More O'Connor, who was opposed by powerful rivals, and amongst others by *Murkeitach O'Loghlin*, prince of Tyrone, (the ally and personal friend of Dermod M'Murchad, king of Leinster,) who,

* Leland's "History of Ireland."

in A.D. 1157, succeeded Torlagh, and became king of Ireland, and continued on the throne until the year A.D. 1166, when he was slain in the battle of Litterluine, when Roderic O'Connor, son of Torlagh O'Connor, was elected king of Ireland, and was her last monarch of Milesian descent.* Roderic O'Connor, who had no great love for his rival's friend, deposed Dermod, and placed another on the throne of Leinster, whereupon Dermod proceeded to Henry II., then at Aquitaine, deeply engaged in maintaining his French dominions, and offered to become his vassal if he would assist him in recovering the throne of Leinster. Henry could not avail himself of so favourable and so long-sought an opportunity of invading Ireland, without incurring the odium of tyrany and oppression. He affected, however, to sympathise with Dermod, and deeply to deplore his unfortunate position, and granted him a letter authorising his subjects to afford him their assistance. This letter Dermod published in England, where he lavished his promises on all who felt disposed to espouse his

* Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, by the Rev. Charles O'Conor, D.D.

cause. Richard, earl of Chepstow and Pembroke, a dissipated spendthrift of some military reputation, was prevailed upon, by the promise of his daughter Eva, the princess of Leinster, in marriage, with the reversion of that province as her dowry, to join him, and undertook to lead a strong force into Ireland in the following month of May. Robert Fitzstephen, a brave and experienced soldier, and Maurice Fitzgerald, his maternal brother, and some other Welshmen, consented to join in the expedition, and having thus made his arrangements, Dermod returned to Ireland, and concealed himself in the monastery at Ferns, awaiting the arrival of his new allies.

Roderic O'Connor, being apprised of his return, and his faithful ally O'Rorke, also a bitter enemy of Dermod, marched into Hi-Kensalagh to punish his disloyalty. Dermod, sensible that he could not resist so strong a force, and only seeking to gain time, made a feigned submission, formally renounced his claim to Leinster, and accepted ten cantreds of land in that province, which he agreed to hold as the vassal of Roderic, and paid a hundred ounces of gold to O'Rorke for his favour and protection, whereupon Roderic withdrew his troops, and left him

exulting in the success of his skilful and unprincipled manœuvre.

Robert Fitzstephen was the first to arrive, and came in May, A.D. 1170, with thirty knights, sixty men in armour, and three hundeed archers, and landed at a creek called the Bann, within a few miles of Wexford. He was accompanied by Hervey de Mountmorris, the uncle of Earl Richard. Maurice Prendergast arrived on the following day with ten knights, and two hundred archers. The arrival of these troops, and Dermod's exaggerated representations, induced numbers to join his standard, and enabled him to send five hundred men, under Donald, his natural son, to reinforce his allies, and he soon joined them himself. Wexford was garrisoned by Irishmen and Danes, brave but undisciplined soldiers; they burned the suburbs, resolved on defending the town to the last extremity, and repulsed the first assault with great success. Fitzstephen, to inspire his troops with indomitable determination, led them back to the seacoast and burned his ships in their presence, telling them that, they had now no alternative but victory or death, and on the following day led them to the assault; but the inhabitants of the town, alarmed at their bravery and deter-

mination, surrendered, and Dermod entered Wexford in triumph, and immediately granted it, according to his previous engagement, to Fitzstephen and Fitzgerald, (who was daily expected,) with its adjoining territory, and granted a considerable district to Mountmorris in compliment to his nephew, Earl Richard.

Dermod's forces were now augmented to three thousand men, and he marched against the prince of Ossory, who had revolted against him in his misfortunes. The Ossorians held an impregnable position, from which he could not dislodge them, but having by a feigned retreat drawn them into the adjoining plain, where his cavalry could act with effect, he gained a signal victory, and boasted of the barbarous trophy, of three hundred of their heads.

Maurice Fitzgerald now arrived, and landed at Wexford with ten knights, thirty horsemen, and one hundred archers; and the prince of Ossory having made his submission, Dermod's progress assumed a more formidable character. Roderic O'Connor, seeing the undisguised treachery of Dermod, and the importance of his proceedings, assembled his forces and marched into Leinster, and, in numbers at least, had an army much superior to the

enemy. Dermod on his approach retired to the woods and morasses near Ferns, and stood on the defensive, while Roderic, sensible of his own weakness, and the instability of his throne, also dreaded the result of a conflict, and proposed, and ultimately concluded, a treaty with the faithless Dermod, which left him at liberty to reduce the province of Leinster to obedience on his merely acknowledging the supremacy of Roderic, to whom he undertook to pay the usual tribute; and, by a secret treaty, agreed to dismiss the English forces when he should have fully established his authority, and not to admit any more foreigners into the country; and delivered his favourite son, with some others, as hostages for the due performance of his deceptive engagements.

In May, 1171, Raymond le Gros, the kinsman of Fitzstephen, arrived with ten knights and seventy archers, and landed near Waterford, and formed entrenchments for their protection. The inhabitants of Waterford and Desies assembled in a tumultous manner to oppose them; an engagement ensued, in which Raymond was victorious, and made seventy prisoners, citizens of Waterford, who were afterwards barbarously massacred. Earl Richard soon after arrived

with two hundred knights, and twelve hundred infantry, well equipped soldiers; he landed at Waterford, and next morning marched towards the city, accompanied by Raymond and his forces. Waterford was then inhabited and governed by the Danes, reinforced by neighbouring chiefs, and fully prepared for a vigorous defence.

The city, however, was taken on the third assault, and the unexpected but timely arrival of Dermod, saved the citizens from indiscriminate slaughter.

The marriage of Earl Richard and Eva, the princess of Leinster, was now solemnised with great pomp, and Dermod led his forces to Dublin. It was now apparent that Dermod had no intention of observing the conditions of his treaty, and that it was absolutely necessary to stem the progress of his traitorous career. Roderic O'Connor at once collected his forces, consisting of some thirty thousand men, but composed of the adherents and followers of different princes and chiefs, accustomed to serve only for certain fixed periods, animated by no common interest in the success or glory of the campaign, and ever ready to disband themselves at a moment's warning; such troops, however

numerous, had but apparent strength, and were unable to contend with an enemy fighting for the possession and plunder of a country.

Roderic O'Connor led his troops to Clandolkan, near Dublin, and after some trifling skirmishing they disbanded themselves and deserted his cause, and the Danes, who held Dublin, were left to their own resources for defence.

The citizens of Dublin having no means of defence, sent their archbishop, O'Toole, to propose terms of capitulation, but, pending the negotiation, the city was unexpectedly assaulted, the streets filled with soldiers, and many of the unarmed and unresisting inhabitants wantonly butchered. Hesculph, the Danish governor, escaped by flight.

Earl Richard, now invested with the lordship of Dublin, nominated Milo de Cogan governor, and marched with Dermod into Meath, where they laid the whole country waste, and massacred the unoffending inhabitants without discrimination.

Roderic not being in a position to take the field against his powerful and victorious enemies, sent a deputation to remonstrate with Dermod on the violation of his solemn treaty, and to

remind him that his son remained in his custody as a hostage for his fidelity. Dermod, in reply, declared that he claimed not only Leinster but all Ireland, whereupon Roderic, in the brutal spirit of the age, put the son of Dermod and his other hostages to death.

Henry II. finding that he could now attend to the reduction of Ireland, became jealous of the success of his subjects, and feigned the utmost indignation at what it suited his purpose to call their unauthorised proceedings. He issued an edict, prohibiting the importation of either men, arms, or provisions into Ireland, and commanding all his subjects in Ireland to return to their native country before the ensuing Easter, on pain of forfeiting their goods and being considered traitors. Earl Richard, seeing the drift of Henry's conduct and its ruinous consequences, despatched Raymond to explain to his majesty that he acted as his vassal, by his own permission, and for his sole benefit, and that whatever he had gained was gained for him, and should remain at his disposal. In the mean time the murder of Becket involved Henry in new difficulties. Dermod also died, it is said, of a loathsome disease, inflicted on him at the instance of the Irish

saints, who, according to the superstitious no tions of those times, were supposed to take an active part in the administration of Irish affairs.

The death of Dermod was unfavourable to Earl Richard; many of the Irish deserted his cause, and the position of the English was every day becoming more and more alarming; they wanted supplies and provisions. Hesculph, the Danish chief, suddenly appeared before the gates of Dublin with a strong force; Earl Richard was at Waterford, and Milo de Cogan with difficulty maintained his ground at one gate, while his brother Richard issued from another with a chosen troop, and fell upon his rear, when, mistaking them for a strong reinforcement, Hesculph fled, was pursued, taken prisoner, led through the streets with every circumstance of insult, and then barbarously executed.

Raymond now returned without any reply from Henry, and Earl Richard arrived in Dublin in the deepest dejection and despair.

Archbishop O'Toole exerted all his influence to induce the Irish to rise in arms and exterminate the English, who were reduced to the most disastrous condition, and apparently de-

serted by their king; and, in conjunction with Roderic, sent emissaries to Gothred, king of the Isle of Man, and to other princes of the northern isles, imploring them to assist the Irish in their struggle against their common enemies. They soon arrived, and blockaded the harbour of Dublin, while the confederated Irish besieged the city, and the chivalrous archbishop, himself, took the command of a troop. Their numbers were decidedly formidable, but, being divided into separate armies, under independent commanders, distracted by unextinguishable jealousies, and unwilling to act in concert, they wasted two months without even attempting an assault on the city. Earl Richard was reduced to the utmost distress; Fitzstephen was also besieged at Wexford, in the fort of Carrig; and Donald Kavanagh arrived in Dublin seeking assistance to raise the siege. In this extremity, Earl Richard held a council, and terms were proposed to Roderic. He, on the other hand, required that the Earl should surrender Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, and all the forts possessed by the English, and that he and his associates should depart from Ireland by a certain day, renouncing all their pretended claims. Considering those terms

wholly inadmissible, they determined on defending the city to the last; and making an unexpected sally, took the Irish unawares, and threw them into such confusion, that they fled in a panic, were promptly pursued, and sustained considerable loss. Roderic narrowly escaped being taken, as he fled half dressed from his bath, and the English obtained, what they much needed, enormous booty, including sufficient provisions to support them for a year. Earl Richard left Milo de Cogan to govern Dublin, and set out to relieve Fitzstephen, but was too late. He was induced, by the perfidious misrepresentations of two bishops, to believe that Roderic had taken Dublin, and put all his countrymen to the sword, and they also urged him to make his escape to Wales; but he no sooner entrusted himself to their guidance, than they seized him, put him in chains, treated both him and his followers with the utmost cruelty, set fire to the town of Wexford, and retired to the holy island in the middle of the harbour, and threatened to massacre their prisoners if Earl Richard attempted to rescue them, and being thus deterred from making the attempt, he proceeded to Waterford.

Henry II. now summoned Earl Richard to

attend, and give an account of his proceedings. He at once embarked for England, and found Henry at Newenham preparing for his intended expedition. It was arranged that Earl Richard should surrender Dublin and the maritime towns and forts to his majesty, and hold his other possessions from Henry and his sons.

In the mean time O'Rorke made a vigorous attempt to overcome the garrison of Dublin, in which he lost his son.

Henry II. now embarked at Milford, attended by Earl Richard, William Fitzandelm, Hugh de Bohun, Hugh de Lacy, Robert Fitz Bernard, and other barons, four hundred knights, and four thousand soldiers, and landed at Waterford in October, A.D. 1172. His professed design was not to conquer, but to take possession of Ireland.

Dermod M'Carthy surrendered Cork, did homage, and undertook to pay tribute for his other possessions. O'Brien of Thomond surrendered Limerick, and did homage in like manner. Dunchad, prince of Ossory, and Fitzstephen, who surrendered Wexford, followed their example, and the inferior chiefs vied with each other in making their humiliating submissions. They were all graciously received,

loaded with presents, and dismissed with very favourable impressions of his majesty's kind and conciliating disposition. He then proceeded to Dublin, and received numerous submissions as he advanced. Hugh de Lacy and William Fitzandelm were despatched to wait on Roderic O'Connor, and if possible to procure his submission. They found him strongly posted on the wooded banks of the Shannon, and as yet too proud to submit to a prince whose authority he disclaimed. The clergy were less scrupulous, and, in a synod held at Cashel, very hastily acknowledged Henry as their sovereign, and exhibited the most mortifying subserviency to his views.

Henry granted Meath to Hugh de Lacy, and Ulster, over which he had no authority, to John de Courcy, provided he should conquer it by force of arms. He made various grants, divided the part of the country over which he had gained authority into counties, appointed sheriffs, itinerant judges, officers of justice, and a chief governor to exercise royal authority in his absence; directed a castle to be built at Dublin; and having received information that two cardinals, Albert and Theodine, delegated by the pope to make inquiries about the death of

Thomas à Becket, had reached Normandy, and summoned him to appear before them under pain of excommunication, he embarked for England on the feast of Easter.

The Irish soon disowned their recent submission, and rose in arms against the government; and Earl Richard, who had attended Henry in Normandy, was appointed sole governor of Ireland, and sent over to reduce them to obedience.

Roderic O'Connor now perceiving that further resistance would be fruitless, and being sensible of the disaffection and perfidy of many of his merely nominal adherents, resolved on making the best terms he could for himself. He accordingly despatched Catholicus O'Dubhy, archbishop of Tuam, the abbot of St. Brandon, and his chancellor, Lawrence O'Toole, to negotiate with his majesty. A treaty was easily concluded: Henry willingly consented to receive his homage and tribute as a liegeman, leaving him his province of Connaught, and other possessions, in as ample a manner as he had theretofore enjoyed them, artfully reserving the tribute for the remainder of the country not possessed by the English, which gave Henry a pretext for claiming the whole of Ireland.

In the mean time O'Brien of Thomond besieged Limerick, and Raymond was sent with a considerable force to raise the siege. On hearing of his approach O'Brien marched to Cashel, and took possession of a defile through which Raymond should of necessity pass. A brisk engagement ensued, in which Raymond was completely victorious, and defeated O'Brien with great slaughter. He thereupon made submission, and Roderic O'Connor at the same time took the oath of fealty. Earl Richard died pending this expedition, and Raymond was appointed governor of Ireland until his majesty's pleasure should be known, and Henry named William Fitzandelm, chief governor. He was corrupt and rapacious, and universally disliked by all parties; his sole ambition was to enrich himself. An assembly of the clergy was held at Waterford, and Vivian, the pope's legate, promulgated a bull confirming Henry's title to Ireland, with very severe denunciations against all persons who should resist his authority.

John de Courcy, availing himself of his grant, led a band of lawless adventurers into Ulster; Dunleve, prince of Uladh, fled on his approach; Vivian interceded for the people, whom he asserted became Henry's subjects on the sub-

mission of Roderic O'Connor, but De Courcy claimed the benefit of his grant, fortified himself in Down, and in spite of all resistance maintained his position.

In the following summer the contest was renewed by a formidable Irish army, and De Courcy's forces were in a perilous condition. Armoric, of St. Lawrence, recommended an attack on the Irish camp at night, which proved decisive; they were taken by surprise, thrown into confusion, and slaughtered almost without resistance; scarcely two hundred of them escaped.

Morrough O'Connor, one of the turbulent sons of Roderic, invited Milo de Cogan to invade Connaught, and assist him in plundering his father's province. De Cogan advanced to Roscommon, under pretence of enforcing tribute from some refractory chieftians. The inhabitants, expecting little good from his union with Morrough, drove away their cattle and wasted the country.

The Irish were in the habit, in disturbed times, of depositing their provisions in the churches for safety, and on this occasion they burned down their own churches to prevent the foreigners getting the provisions; and the Eng-

lish, having no supplies, were forced to make a disgraceful retreat, leaving Morrough to the cruel resentment of his enraged countrymen, who, with the concurrence of Roderic, put out his eyes, and cast him into prison, a mode of punishment not uncommon throughout Europe in those barbarous times.

Hugh de Lacy was now appointed governor. He married a daughter of Roderic O'Connor, which appears to have awakened the watchful suspicion of Henry, for he was shortly after removed from the government, but was soon re-appointed, and was one of his best governors. Henry now resolved on sending his favourite son, John, to govern Ireland, and having completed his arrangements, John landed at Waterford, attended by Glanville, the eminent lawyer, several grave ecclesiastics, and a splendid train of gay young Normans, little suited to so important an undertaking.

The Irish chieftains hastened to do him homage, but their uncouth appearance was openly ridiculed by the more polished young Normans, and their unbecoming and disrespectful conduct did not fail to produce its fatal result. The insulted chieftains retired, brooding over the insolence of the arrogant and supercilious

foreigners, and vowing vengeance against them. They excited the chiefs of Connaught, Desmond and Thomond, who rose in arms against the government. At Lismore, Robert Barry and his troop were entirely cut off. At Ardfinnin, the prince of Limerick and the governor were put to the sword. In Ossory, Robert de la Poer was slain, and several persons of distinction met with the same disastrous fate. To make matters worse, John had dissipated the means supplied for the maintenance of the troops in idle ostentation, and Henry II. recalled him from a government he so wantonly misadministered. Hugh de Lacy, who would have been the fittest person to conciliate the Irish, had been recently killed, while superintending some work at the abbey of Durrow in Meath, by one of the workmen, who struck off his head with an axe, and the Irish, exulting in the assassination of an Englishman of his distinguished position, permitted the murderer to escape. John de Courcy was named governor of Ireland, and proceeded with vigour and energy, but from the deplorable condition of the country could only act on the defensive.

In Connaught, the unnatural sons of Roderic O'Connor deposed their unhappy father, and

drove him to seek refuge in the venerable abbey of Cong, where he spent the remainder of his life. De Courcy marched into Connaught, where Connor Maonmoi O'Connor, the reigning son of Roderic, and O'Brien, prince of Munster, met him with superior forces; he attempted a retreat to Ulster, encountered another army, and lost several of his best and bravest officers in forcing his passage through the enemy. He then marched into Ulster, burned the town of Armagh, and committed atrocious cruelties. Connor Maonmoi fell by the hand of an assassin, who was slain by his son Cathal Carrach O'Connor, who thus avenged the death of his father; and the province of Connaught was again involved in anarchy and bloodshed, by a new contest between Cathal Carrach O'Connor and his uncle Cathal, named Croibh Dhearg, the bloody-handed, for its impoverished throne. This contest was decided in a sharp conflict, in which Cathal Carrach and several distinguished chiefs were amongst the slain.

The numerous descendants of the ancient O'Connor family in the Co. Roscommon are descended from Cathal Croibh Dhearg, son of Torlagh O'Connor *More*, or *the Great* supreme

king of Ireland, and Duvcola, daughter of M'Dermot of Moylurg.*

The reign of Henry was diastrous to the Irish; they were plundered, and treated as an inferior race; and, having no legitimate mode of obtaining redress, sought revenge in the perpetration of acts equally lawless and cruel. Thus a fatal antagonism arose, and both races were inflamed by a bitter and inextinguishable hatred of each other. Had he conquered the country, as he might easily have done, extended the protection of the laws of England to all classes, restrained the overbearing oppression and tyranny of petty princes and chieftains, and finally abolished the barbarous and corruptly administered Brehon law, he might have laid the foundation of good and impartial government, and saved the country from the misery of numerous and grave misfortunes.

Cathal, the bloody-handed, now became king of Connaught, and was sustained by a powerful faction, the true mainspring of provincial authority in these boisterous and tragical times. He declared against the English, and formed a hostile confederacy with the princes of Mun-

* "Annals of the Four Masters," Connellan's edition.

ster, Desmond and Thomond, against the government.

De Courcy retired to his possessions in Ulster on his removal from the government, and, being apprehensive of seeing his own territories invaded in the coming storm, solicited the aid of his old friend, Armoric, of St. Lawrence, who immediately set out to join him with two hundred men and thirty horsemen. Cathal, knowing that he should pass through his province, lay in ambush for him, with an overwhelming force. Armoric, finding his passage cut off, and seeing no mode of escape, consulted his brave troops, who unanimously decided against surrendering to Cathal, from whom no mercy could be expected, and resolved on selling their lives as dearly as possible. Two of the youngest of them were placed on an eminence which commanded a view of the ground on which the sanguinary struggle was to take place, to report the result to De Courcy, and the fatal conflict commenced, in which Cathal lost one thousand men, and Armoric and his noble followers were all slaughtered.

Cathal now made an incursion into Munster, at the head of a powerful army; the English

retired on his approach, and he razed their castles and forts, and laid the country waste. He then returned, after the havoc he committed, without gaining any advantage from his ill-directed expedition.

The city of Limerick was entrusted to William de Burgho, of the family of Fitzandelm, who claimed certain lands in Connaught formerly granted to John de Burgho. Cathal's subjects were in revolt against him, and Carrach O'Connor, a kinsman of his own, claimed the throne of Connaught, and to induce De Burgho to espouse his cause, he undertook to acknowledge his title to those lands, on his succeeding to the throne. Cathal, who could not successfully resist their united forces, fled, and sought the aid of Hugh O'Nial, who, with De Courcy and De Lacy, took part with him, and led their troops into Connaught. Carrach and De Burgho marched out to meet them, and defeated them with great slaughter; but Carrach and De Burgho fell out, Carrach having failed to perform his promises, whereupon Cathal contrived to gain him over to his side. They marched into Connaught, where, after a sanguinary engagement, in which Carrach was killed, Cathal again ascended the throne, but not keeping faith with De Burgho,

he again led his forces into Connaught and drove him out of the province.

Meiler Fitzhenry, now governor of Ireland, marched to Limerick to chastise De Burgho for his turbulent conduct, and Cathal and O'Brien of Thomond joined him. De Burgho capitulated and renewed his homage, which in times of such insubordination and rebellion seemed to be a sufficient atonement for any amount of treachery or infidelity.

Cathal and O'Brien made very extensive concessions to king John; Cathal surrendered two-thirds of Connaught, and undertook to pay one hundred marks, annually, for the remaining third, which he agreed to hold in vassalage from the crown; the two-thirds were granted to Meiler Fitzhenry on the very moderate terms of fortifying and improving them.

Cathal appeared before king John, and made his submission in confirmation of his concessions, which caused frequent encroachments and disputes, but Cathal appealed to king John on these occasions and received his support.

The whole kingdom of Connaught was afterwards granted to Richard de Burgho in reversion after the death of Cathal, who still maintained himself in that province.

De Burgho, after the death of Cathal, claimed the benefit of the grant, but the Irish, according to their own usage, elected Torlagh O'Connor, brother of Cathal, and invested him with the regal dignity of Connaught.

Geoffrey Maurisco, then governor of Ireland, led a powerful army into Connaught, and placed Ædh, a son of Cathal, on the throne; discord was then revived, and Ædh revolted against the government, and, after some success, attended at court to offer his explanations, and was killed. Torlagh then resumed the throne, but was again deposed by Robert De Burgho, who succeeded Maurisco in the government, and established Feidlem O'Connor, another brother of Cathal, in his place, who, being sustained by the English government, maintained himself with much credit and valour.

When Ufford was governor of Ireland, in the reign of Edward I., the Irish manifested a rational desire to abandon their fruitless resistance, and to seek the privileges and protection of the English laws, for which they offered eight thousand marks. The king favoured their application, and, treating it as a financial measure, suggested the propriety of ascertain-

ing "the highest price in money that could be obtained for the boon;" but this salutary measure was selfishly resisted by the English nobles for their own corrupt purposes, as, granting the protection of the law to the Irish would materially restrain themselves, in their habitual encroachments on their possessions. They pretended that, from the disturbed state of the country, they could not form an assembly sufficiently respectable for the consideration of so important a question.

A revolt in Scotland led to the glorious victory of Robert Bruce at Bannockburne, after which he ravaged the northern frontier of England without resistance. The Irish, inflamed by his success, sought his aid to recover their independence, and offered him the crown of Ireland as the reward of his services, in the expulsion of the English. The application was most opportune. His brother Edward, who claimed an equal participation in their glorious achievements, and in the throne of Scotland, threatened to become troublesome to him, and Edward being of a chivalrous and warlike temperament, he encouraged him to accept of the offer, and gladly assisted and sustained him in the expedition. Great preparations were made for his

reception in Ulster, where he landed on the 25th May, 1315, with six thousand brave and well-disciplined Scots. The Irish flocked to his standard, gave hostages for their fidelity, and marched with him against the common enemy. The English were butchered without distinction, their castles razed, and their towns burned. Richard, earl of Ulster, collected his forces, and summoned his vassals to protect his vast possessions, and Feidlem O'Connor joined him with his provincial troops. They proceeded through Meath, into Ulster, where, after some unimportant skirmishing, they fought a sanguinary engagement with Bruce, in which he was victorious. Feidlem O'Connor was secretly solicited to join Bruce, and much disposed to do so, but Roderic O'Connor, a kinsman of his own, taking advantage of his absence, rose in rebellion against him, and agreed with Bruce to expel the English from Connaught in return for his support against Feidlem. Feidlem, on hearing of the rebellion in Connaught, returned to assert his rights, and the earl, being unable to keep the field against Bruce, retreated into Connaught. Sir John Bermingham joined him with reinforcements, and they fought a battle with Roderic, in which they were victorious, and

Roderic was slain, which terminated the rebellion, and restored peace in Connaught. Feidlem, however, still brooding on the solicitations of Edward Bruce, resolved on turning against his benefactors, and O'Brien of Thomond, and other influential chiefs of Munster and Meath, followed his example. The clergy excited their flocks to support Bruce, who they preached up as the deliverer of their country. Edward Bruce was now crowned at Dundalk. His brother Robert arrived with considerable reinforcements, and their army was greatly augmented by the Irish and disaffected English, amongst whom were the De Lacys and their numerous adherents.

Carrickfergus was constrained, by famine and extreme distress, to surrender to Bruce, who led his troops, inflamed by their cravings and wants, into Munster, where they made cruel havoc and devastation.

A large force was now sent into Connaught to subdue Feidlem O'Connor, who had made some successful incursions on the English pale, in which several distinguished persons were slain. Feidlem, undaunted by the array of power against him, took the field at the head of his troops, and met his enemies on the blood-

stained field of Athenry, which is said to have been the most fatal battle fought since the invasion of the English, and where the brave and chivalrous Feidlem and many of his race were amongst the slain. The Irish lost ten thousand men, and twenty-nine subaltern chiefs, in this sanguinary engagement.

In the mean time Edward Bruce, conceiving Dublin to be impregnable, led his forces into Munster, ravaged the country, and then returned into Ulster without meeting with any resistance. He, however, found it no easy matter to support his troops; they were much reduced by fatigue and famine; and the dreadful sentence of excommunication was thundered forth from the papal chair, against all the enemies of Edward II., such of the clergy as preached in favour of the rebellion, and by name against Robert and Edward Bruce. Sir John Bermingham led fifteen hundred well-equipped and well-disciplined soldiers into Ulster. Edward Bruce had above three thousand men exhausted by famine and disease, and only sustained by his animating energy, and sanguine expectations of success. Both armies were impatient for the conflict; it was obstinately contested, but the English were completely victorious, and

Edward Bruce fell in this engagement. Robert Bruce landed shortly after, only to hear of his brother's defeat and death, and to return to Scotland with his reinforcements. Bermingham expelled O'Nial from Tir-Owen, and led his victorious troops to Dublin. He was rewarded with the earldom of Louth, and the manor of Atherdee, for his important services.

A new rebellion now broke out, of which O'Brien of Thomond became the leader. Meath, Munster, and part of Leinster were involved in this disturbance. The insurgents committed barbarous atrocities. On one occasion they surrounded a chapel while the congregation, which consisted of eighty persons, were engaged in their devotion: in vain they besought them to spare the clergyman; they tore the host from his hands, trampled it under their feet, slew himself, set fire to the chapel, and committed the congregation to the flames, and not one of them was permitted to escape.

The earl of Ulster was assassinated on the high road to Carrickfergus by his own servants; his countess and daughter fled to England, leaving his vast estates wholly unprotected. The O'Nials rose in arms, expelled the English, and parcelled them out amongst themselves. In

Connaught some of the younger branches of the De Burgho family entered into the late earl's possessions, and the Irish, thinking that their enemies would now be exterminated, became perfectly ungovernable.

Sir John Norris, governor of Ireland, summoned a parliament at Dublin, and while it was sitting received the alarming intelligence that the earl of Desmond had convened an independent meeting at Kilkenny, styled, a meeting of the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land, and prepared a petition to the king against the rapacity and oppression of the Irish government and the fradulent seizure of their possessions, which petition was favourably received by his majesty, who directed that they should not be dispossessed of their estates without a legal investigation of their respective claims, and in the mean time afforded them protection.

Edward III. afterwards appointed Lionel, his second son, to the government of Ireland; he had married the daughter of the murdered earl of Ulster, and claimed his earldom and vast possessions in Ulster and Connaught, of which the Irish chieftains had so very unceremoniously possessed themselves, and was created

duke of Clarence. The clergy and laity granted him two years' value of their revenues to maintain the war; he was, however, soon recalled, and left the mischievous distinction between English by birth, and by race, fully established, and recognised as a new and inexhaustible source of hatred and rivalship.

The corrupt and oppressive use made of parliaments in Ireland, naturally induced the Irish to look on them with jealousy, and the Irish government took no pains to conceal the unconstitutional use they made of them. Thus, in a parliament held at Dublin, certain objectionable duties were proposed as a financial measure, and rejected by a large majority. The minority afterwards met, and secretly granted them for three years; and not content with so scandalous an infringement on the authority of parliament, the governor, Sir William Windsore, without any authority, made them perpetual. On a representation of the circumstances to the king the grant was quashed, but Sir William was neither removed from an office he had disgraced, nor reprimanded for his corrupt conduct, and obtained an annual allowance of eleven thousand two hundred pounds to defray the expenses of his government, a sum which greatly exceeded the

whole revenues of Ireland, and he could only preserve the peace of the country by granting pensions to the disaffected chieftains, who rose in arms on every default in the payment of them.

In the year 1394, Richard II. landed at Waterford with a royal army, consisting of four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers, attended by the duke of Gloucester and earls of Rutland and Nottingham. The Irish, intimidated by so strong a force, hastened to do homage, freely promised to pay tribute, and undertook to keep the peace. Those terms were graciously accepted by a weak prince, little capable of foreseeing the insincerity of the Irish chieftains, and who vainly thought sufficient was done for the future prosperity of the country. The earl of Nottingham, marshal of England, was empowered to receive their homage and fealty, and pitched his camp at Carlow, where they did homage on bended knee, with their heads uncovered, their arms laid aside, and their girdles loosed, and the kiss of peace confirmed the reconciliation. They also undertook to relinquish their lands, and to enter into the king's service, for which they were to have

pensions, and be declared proprietors of all lands they might take from the king's enemies in other provinces. In the mean time the chiefs of the northern province attended the king at Drogheda, did homage, and entered into similar engagements. They were all afterwards received with great pomp and ostentation in Dublin; the four principal chieftains, O'Connor, O'Nial, O'Brien, and M'Murchad, were particularly distinguished, and as they had no titles amongst them, and did not value such honours, they were with difficulty prevailed upon to receive the honour of knighthood, which was conferred on them with great solemnity in the cathedral of Christ's Church, and the ceremony was followed by a magnificent feast, at which they appeared in robes of state, seated at the king's table.

Richard II. then appointed Robert Mortimer, earl of Marche, son of the duke of Clarence, his lord-deputy, and sailed for England.

The Irish chieftains, no longer restrained by a powerful army, and justly indignant at the oppressive terms extorted from them, rose in arms against the government. The earl led his forces against them with but ill success; he was surprised, defeated, and killed. Richard,

irritated at the loss of the earl, and the unexpected defection of the Irish chieftains, landed again at Waterford, to avenge his death, and punish his rebellious subjects. He delayed six days at Waterford, and fourteen days at Kilkenny, awaiting the arrival of his son, the duke of Aumerle, with reinforcements; and, after a fruitless campaign, in which the Irish declined coming to any engagement, he proceeded to Dublin, where he remained for six weeks without receiving any intelligence from England, when a ship arrived with the sad information of his utter ruin: he embarked for England in dismay, and was dethroned.

The affairs of England now became unmanageable, and the duke of York, after the battle of Blore-heath, fled to Ireland for protection. Writs were sent over against him and those who took refuge in Ireland, who were designated as rebels and traitors, but the Irish parliament declared it to be treasonable to molest them, and the earl of Ormonde, who came over to enforce the writs, was seized, condemned, and executed as a traitor.

The arrival of Sir Edward Poynings as vicegerent was an event of some importance. The great English nobles had acquired a baneful

influence over the proceedings of the Irish parliament, and often defeated the financial measures of the government. It became his main object to deprive them of such mischievous control, for which purpose he obtained an enactment, known as *Poynings' law*, whereby it was provided, that before any parliament could be summoned in Ireland, the reasons for holding such parliament, and the laws to be enacted therein, should be first certified by the chief governor and privy council to the king, and a license for holding such parliament, and enacting such laws, should be granted by the king in council, under the great seal of England. Thus the whole government of Ireland was vested in the king and his privy council.

An act of attainder had been passed against the earl of Kildare and some other noblemen; the earl was arrested and transmitted to London, where he lay for a long time in the Tower, during which his countess had died of grief, at his perilous situation. At length he was brought up before the king, who was struck with his apparent simplicity, and confidence in his innocence, and directed him to prepare for his defence, and to procure able counsel. "Yea," replied the earl, "the ablest in the realm,"

seizing the king's hands with uncourtly familiarity: "your highness I take for my counsel against these knaves." The king found the charges frivolous, and his accusers were driven to make charges of intemperate violence against him, and accused him of having burnt the church of Cashel. "Spare your evidence," said the earl : "I did set fire to the church, for I thought the bishop had been in it." They then closed their charges against him, with a passionate declaration, "that all Ireland could not govern this earl." "Well," replied Henry VII., "then this earl shall govern all Ireland," and he afterwards appointed him lord-deputy of Ireland.*

He appears to have been a person of a determined and arbitrary disposition. Having given one of his daughters in marriage to Ulic de Burgho of Clanricarde, a powerful nobleman, and not liking how he treated her, he, without hesitation, made it a state affair, marched his majesty's troops into Connaught, with all the parade of a chief governor, seized on several castles and garrisoned them, and fought a sanguinary battle with his son-in-law and his allies

* Leland's "History of Ireland."

at Knoctow, near Galway, in which he gained a complete victory, losing two thousand men in this unnecessary family war. He must, however, have given the king a very favourable version of his proceedings, as he obtained the order of the garter, for having overthrown his majesty's Irish enemies.

He afterwards made an incursion on the territories of the bishop of Ossory, who complained of his oppressive violence, and the king ordered him to attend and render an account of his conduct. He at once handed over the government to his son Thomas and set out for England. Thomas Fitzgerald, misled by some false reports, imagined that his father had been beheaded, and declared war against the king. He made prisoners of Baron Howth, and Luttrel, lord chief justice of the common pleas, and, relying on the neutrality of the citizens, besieged the castle of Dublin, but they shut the gates and defeated his design. He made an incursion into the county of Kilkenny, and laid the country waste, as far as Thomastown, and confined such persons as refused to swear allegiance to him, in the castle of Maynooth.

Sir William Skeffington was now appointed lord-deputy. Fitzgerald having put his castle

of Maynooth in a state of defence, proceeded to Connaught to solicit the assistance of O'Connor and his western allies, and Sir William Skeffington surrounded the castle and bombarded it for fifteen days without any effect, and had little hope of success, until Christopher Parese, the foster-brother of Thomas Fitzgerald, betrayed the trust reposed in him, for a stipulated sum of money, and admitted Skeffington, who obtained immense booty; but, struck with the base and perfidious conduct of Parese, he paid him the sum agreed upon, and, as nothing was said about sparing his life, ordered him to be hanged. In the mean time Thomas Fitzgerald was on his return with seven thousand men, hastening to raise the siege, but on hearing that the castle was surrendered, the greater part of the troops deserted his cause, and he led the feeble remains of his army to Slane. Skeffington marched to Naas, and an engagement ensued, in which he gained a complete victory, and Thomas Fitzgerald withdrew into Munster. He afterwards surrendered on condition that he should receive a pardon. He was sent to England to implore the king's pardon, but was arrested on his way to Windsor, and thrown into the Tower, where he remained until his execution, and had the mortifi-

cation to find that his father, who lived to hear of his hasty rebellion, died of grief, and had not been, as he supposed, beheaded.*

Henry VIII. was so enraged at the conduct of Thomas Fitzgerald, that it was quite idle to expect a pardon from him, and such was his furious desire of revenge, that he ordered the new lord-deputy, Lord Grey, to seize the five uncles of Thomas Fitzgerald, and to transmit them to London. Lord Grey invited them to a banquet, after which they were seized, and sent prisoners to London, where they and their unfortunate nephew were executed together. Gerald, a brother of Thomas, then a mere youth, was the only member of the family who escaped; he was conveyed to France, where the English ambassador demanded him as a rebel, and a traitor, but the king delayed his sanction until Gerald escaped into Flanders, from whence he proceeded to Rome, entered the service of the grand duke of Tuscany, in which he attained rank and distinction, and was liberally pardoned by Edward VI., and the titles and possessions of his illustrious

* "Histoire de l'Irelande," par M. l'Abbé McGeoghegan, Tom ii.

family were afterwards restored to him by Queen Elizabeth.

A parliament, held at Dublin, conferred on Henry VIII. the title of supreme head of the church of Ireland, with full power to reform heresies and errors in religion. He commenced by prohibiting appeals to Rome, and made it treason to question his supremacy, as head of the church of Ireland.

Lord Grey now marched into the county of Down, took the castle of Dundrum and several fortified places, laid the country waste, burned the cathedral of Downpatrick, destroyed the noble monuments of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Collumkill, as already mentioned, and committed many barbarous and sacrilegious acts.

The Irish chieftains, seeing the deadly blow aimed at their national faith, resolved on making a united effort for the freedom of their country. There were now only twelve counties in the English pale. Henry VIII. tried to conciliate the Irish by affected kindness: he offered the chieftains titles of honour, which, as they had no titles amongst them, they treated with contempt, considering them as badges of subjection to a foreign prince. He also offered them grants of

their lands, under the laws of England, by which they would become descendible to their issue; but their want of confidence in his professions deterred them from accepting of even apparently beneficial offers, and very few availed themselves of so important an opportunity of gaining permanent titles to their possessions. O'Nial of Ulster visited the English court, surrendered his possessions, and took a grant of them under the laws of England, and also accepted the title of earl of Tyrone; and Morrough O'Brien accepted the title of earl of Thomond. According to the ancient laws and customs of Ireland, each tribe elected its chieftain, who bore the name of the tribe, or clan, without any christian name, and never bore any other title. Thus the elected chieftain of the O'Nials, one of the most powerful and distinguished tribes in Ireland, bore the simple title of "*The O'Nial*," and the chief of the O'Donnells bore the title of "*The O'Donnell*;" while the other members of the tribes bore their christian and surnames; as, Owen O'Nial, the distinguished general, and Con O'Donnell, brother of *The O'Donnell.*

Each tribe formed a small republic, united under their *elected* chief, for their common safety and protection, and they elected the ablest and

bravest, as the most likely to lead them to victory, or to govern them with justice. The rivalships and jealousies of these tribes led to the most barbarous and bloody conflicts, alike injurious and disgraceful to the country.*

O'Moore, O'Brien and O'Connor of Offaly rose in rebellion against the government, and a large reinforcement arrived from England under the command of Edward Bellingham, who led his troops into Leix and Offaly, and proclaimed them rebels and traitors, devastated the country, and subdued their vassals. They submitted on promises of pardon, but their lands were seized as forfeitures. Thus Bellingham gained two considerable districts, which were added to the pale; and Leix and Offaly, which for twelve centuries belonged to the O'Moores, O'Connors, and O'Dempseys, were divided into fiefs, and granted to English subjects, under the great seal; and Bellingham received the honour of knighthood, and the government of Ireland, for his important achievements.†

It was now the policy of government to intro-

* "Memoirs of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare," by the Reverend Charles O'Conor, D.D., p. 41; L'Abbé McGeoghegan, Tom. ii., and other ancient historians.

† Leland's "History of Ireland."

duce the liturgy of the church of England into the Irish church, and St. Leger was considered the fittest person to employ for that purpose. He was, accordingly, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland. The Irish were not sufficiently instructed, to form a very correct opinion on such novel doctrines, but, naturally enough, rejected them as an unwarrantable and mischievous innovation. Numbers of the clergy abandoned their cures, rather than disclaim the exclusive authority of the pope; nor was it an easy matter to procure efficient reformers to replace them, who could instruct a people who only understood the Irish language. Many of the Irish bishops were appointed by the pope, and disclaimed the authority of the government in ecclesiastical affairs, however, the liturgy was read in the cathedral of Christ Church, with the sanction of a number of the Irish bishops, in the presence of the lord-deputy, magistrates, and clergy.

Queen Mary took a very different view of this important question, and determined to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion throughout her dominions. She accordingly commenced her reign by a formal declaration in favour of the proscribed *mass*, and the other dogmas of the Roman Catholic church. She renounced

the profane title of supreme head of the church, removed all married clergymen from their benefices, and left them and their families without any visible means of support. Such was her interpretation of the mild principles inculcated by the Divine founder of our Christian religion.

Her reign, however, was too short for the accomplishment of her great undertaking, and did not enable her to re-model the church, and reform the consciences of her loyal Irish subjects.

Queen Elizabeth, who succeeded Mary, commenced her reign by the adoption of measures anything but satisfactory to the fervent admirers of her pious predecessor. She at once resolved on having no Roman Catholics, and on making a paradise of her own creation. She issued a proclamation abolishing the sacrifice of the *mass*, without which there could be no Roman Catholic religion. Their altars were demolished, their images broken down, their clergy excluded from the city of Dublin, and the heads of families constrained to attend divine service in her reformed churches, where it was, perhaps, expected, that they would discover, under such considerate treatment, which of two miracles

was best suited to promote the welfare of mankind, and the salvation of their souls.

Thus, a decisive blow was aimed at the national faith of the Irish, in a creed of no novel construction, but, on the contrary, in a creed favourably received, and piously cherished throughout far the greater part of the Christian world. Whatever may be the merits of this all-important question, which we have no inclination to discuss, this was a barbarous attempt to force a people, peculiarly sensitive on the subject of their faith, to abandon it without a moment's hesitation, and to adopt the creed of their bitterest enemies, and most unrelenting oppressors, at the point of the bayonet!

Elizabeth, though of an arbitrary and dogmatical disposition, was too wise not to know the value of conciliation. She saw the necessity and vital importance of subduing O'Nial, the turbulent chieftain of the north, and felt the extreme difficulity of the undertaking. She made the warmest professions of her friendly sentiments towards him, and proposed a treaty of peace, but O'Nial, not being in a temper to appreciate her offer, rejected her proposal, and defied her power, and Queen Elizabeth, seeing she had no other course, commenced her first

war with the unsubdued Irish chieftains. Her lord-deputy sent Colonel Randolph, and seven hundred men, to besiege Derry, of which he obtained possession, and made a powder magazine of the church. O'Nial marched towards Derry with two thousand five hundred men and three hundred cavalary, and encamped within two miles of the town; the magazine blew up, destroyed the town, and overwhelmed Colonel Randolph and his seven hundred men in its ruins.

O'Donnell and O'Nial were now unfortunately at war with each other, and the government availed itself of the untoward circumstance, and assisted O'Donnell, in order to subdue O'Nial; but O'Nial fought them both, was victorious over their combined forces, and left four hundred of their men, and several experienced officers, recently arrived from England, dead on the field of battle.

O'Nial, being no longer able to keep the field against the accumulating reinforcements of the English, determined on seeking refuge amongst his bitterest enemies. Alexander McDonnell lay with six hundred men encamped at Clanneboy. O'Nial had killed one of his brothers, and held another of them in custody as a prisoner of war;

he liberated him, and set out for McDonnell's camp, where he was received with feigned respect, and hospitably entertained, but in the course of the night he was assassinated, and his head sent to the lord-deputy, and exposed on a pole at the castle of Dublin. Such was the sad fate of O'Nial, who had sacrificed everything for his country and his religion; his extensive possessions were, of course, confiscated, and were a rich prey for the favourites of a rapacious and corrupt government.

The country was still in a deplorable condition. James Fitzmaurice fought numerous battles with Sir John Perrott, then president of Munster, with uninterrupted success; and the Queen, alarmed at the frequent defeats of the president, directed him to make peace with Fitzmaurice on the best terms he could. Fitzmaurice consented to lay down his arms, on condition that the persecution of the Roman Catholics should cease, and that the earl of Desmond and his brother John, then confined in the Tower of London, should be liberated. These terms were accepted, and the Desmonds were transmitted to Dublin, with private instructions to induce Fitzmaurice to attend in Dublin to sign the treaty agreed upon, and

then to have the three beheaded! The earl of Desmond and his brother were on their parole, awaiting the arrival of Fitzmaurice, but got a hint of the treachery intended, and made their escape, and, after a laborious and perilous journey, reached their own province, where the earl carried on the war with renewed vigour.

Lord Grey was now appointed deputy, and being informed that there was a strong force posted at the defiles of Glendalagh, collected his troops, and proceeded to give them battle. An engagement ensued, in which they were victorious, and the lord-deputy narrowly escaped, by flight. The English are said to have lost eight hundred men in this action.

James Fitzmaurice, who, upon the return of the Desmonds, went to Rome in search of assistance, now returned with a large reinforcement, and landed at Smerwick on the coast of Kerry, which he fortified and garrisoned with six hundred men, under the command of Sebastian and St. Joseph. The lord-deputy besieged them with fifteen hundred men, and was attended by Ormonde and other experienced officers; it was also blockaded by Admiral Winter. The siege lasted forty days, and there was no expectation of reducing the

place. Lord Grey demanded a parley, and an Irishman, named Plunket, strenuously resisted the surrender of a place they had so successfully defended, on promises, for the performance of which, experience taught them that they had no security; but Sebastian foolishly rejected his advice, and they proceeded to the general's camp, where Lord Grey received them in a most gracious manner, and offered to allow them to march out with all the honours of war. The conditions were accepted, and Lord Grey solemnly pledged himself that they should be most scrupulously observed, but, as soon as he gained possession of the place, he ordered the troops to lay down their arms, and they were all barbarously massacred in cool blood. It was from this base and perfidious violation of a solemn treaty, that "fides greia" became a proverbial expression for any flagrant act of perfidy.

Commissioners were sent into Ulster to adjust the affairs of that troublesome province, but all hope of reconciliation was sunk, in the religious intolerance of the government; and no confidence would be reposed in the queen, by a people who were insulted and trampled upon, and looked for nothing but revenge. The per-

secuted Roman Catholic was deprived of the rites of his church, and his children of all religious instruction; their revered clergy were denounced as idolaters, branded as traitors, and compelled by bigotry and intolerance to seek protection in France, Italy, and Spain. In the midst of such unmitigated persecution, they still struggled to procure instruction for the children of the Roman Catholics. Christopher Cusack, an Irish clergyman, by his own resources, and the contributions of some pious friends, founded seminaries in Lille, Tournay, St. Omer, and Antwerp, for their education. William Allen, a gentleman of great learning, educated at Oxford, founded a similar establishment at Douay, which afterwards became a celebrated college. The Duke de Guise founded another at Rheims; and Gregory XIII. founded another at Rome.

These establishments soon attracted the notice and excited the hostility of Queen Elizabeth. She promulgated an edict, commanding all persons having children or relations in foreign countries to recall them, and prohibited remittances for their support, or the reception of Seminarians, or Jesuists, in their houses. Dermod O'Hurley, who had been

appointed archbishop of Cashel by the pope, found Ireland in a state of anarchy. He taught in Roman Catholic families, and confirmed the faithful in their religion, without any distinction of diocese or province; and, being on a visit with Lord Slane, was unfortunately discovered, loaded with chains, and cast into prison. He was at length brought before the chancellor, and, after suffering cruel torture, and resisting the temptation of liberal offers, on his acknowledgment of the supremacy of the queen as head of the church, was taken out and hanged, without further ceremony.

Gallesius O'Cullinan, abbot of the monastery of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, and Owen O'Milkern, a Roman Catholic clergyman, after enduring long and cruel torture, were hanged for the same grave offence!

Sir Richard Bingham, an inhuman savage, then president of Connaught, put many Roman Catholic clergymen to death. O'Connor *Ruadh*, then in his eightieth year, was hanged; and several of the Burkes, O'Kellys, and other gentlemen, shared the same unhappy fate.

Sir John Perrott was now appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, with very extensive discretionary power, and set out on his tour through

Connaught and Munster. The country was disturbed by the feuds and contentions of petty chieftains. Sir John Perrott did his utmost to restore peace amongst them, and with this view prevailed on them to drop such distinctive appellations as were connected with family feuds, and served only to rekindle and perpetuate old animosities. He formed Connaught into counties, and *Siol Murray*, then the district of the O'Connors, became the county of Roscommon. He compelled the chieftains to submit to the government. They surrendered their possessions, and accepted of grants of their lands, to them and their heirs, which they greatly desired. Mr. Matt. O'Conor tells us, that "the chieftains themselves preferred *certain descendible tenures* under the laws of England, to their *precarious* chieftainries under the Brehon law, *not descendible to their immediate issue, but subject to popular election.*"* Amongst others, Hugh O'Connor, of Ballintubber, surrendered his castle of Ballintubber, and other possessions, to the queen, and accepted of a grant thereof from the crown, and the honour of knighthood; and relinquished the factious appellation of *Dhunne*,

* "History of the Irish Catholics." p. 9.

which had been retained in his family, merely as a symbol of the hostile feelings and bitter animosity that subsisted between two cousin branches. The circumstances are thus related by eminent historians.* Two cousins, both named Torlagh O'Connor, were for many years engaged in bitter contention about their possessions, and the electors of *Siol Murray*, harassed by their feuds and rivalships, divided the district between them, and, in order to distinguish them from each other, named one Torlagh *Dhunne*, *the brown-haired*, and the other Torlagh *Ruadh*, *the red-haired*. The father of Torlagh *Ruadh* had been possessed of Ballintubber castle, but, in their wars, Roderic O'Connor, the uncle of Torlagh *Dhunne*, expelled the O'Connors *Ruadh* from Ballintubber, A.D. 1381,† from whence it was possessed by the O'Connors *Dhunne*, as all the descendants of Torlagh *Dhunne* then called themselves. The division of *Siol Murray*, A.D. 1385, did not restore peace, for Dr. O'Conor tells us, in his memoirs already mentioned: "The Annals of the Four Masters

* "Annals of the Four Masters," Connellan's edition; "Memoirs of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare," by Dr. Charles O'Conor, already mentioned.

† "Annals of the Four Masters"

give a dreadful account of the animosities that prevailed between the *cousin families*, at the close of the fourteenth century, and the history of the O'Connors, in the fifteenth century, is the history of petty wars, carried on by petty chieftains, to gratify the petulance of family pride, or indulge private animosities."* Thus the two cousin families kept the appellations of *Dhunne* and *Ruadh* as factious symbols, bore them as banners, and fought under them with all the cordial inveteracy of family discord, and retained them to distinguish their antagonistic families. Hence Sir John Perrott stipulated for the suppression of the appellation of *Dhunne*, and conferred on Hugh O'Connor the more honourable distinction of knighthood. And Mr. Matthew O'Conor, in a statement which he furnished, and prevailed on Mr. Weld to publish, in his statistical survey of the county of Roscommon, truly states, that the descendants of Sir Hugh O'Connor, as well as Sir Hugh O'Connor himself, relinquished the distinctive appellation of *Dhunne*, but that, about the year 1750, Dominick O'Connor, the head of the Cloonalis family, assumed the appellation of *Don*, being

* Dr. O'Conor's "Memoirs," p. 41

a corruption of the Irish word *Dhunne*, giving it more importance, and *sounding like a Spanish title*. We should be glad to discover any ground for the assumption of the title of *Don* in the O'Connor family, but we regret to find that it has no historical significance or representative value.*

From Connaught, Sir John Perrott proceeded to Limerick, where he received information that the Scotch allies of Surleyboy M'Donnell made a descent on Ulster, and that a rebellion would shortly break out in that province, under the authority of O'Nial. He immediately returned to Dublin, from whence he led a strong force to Newry, and sent a fleet to Loughfoyle; but the Scotch anticipated his movements, and made their escape. He took the towns of Dunluce and Dunfert, and M'Donnell made his submission, and gave hostages for his future fidelity. Sir John afterwards adopted a singular mode to entrap the O'Donnells of Tirconnell, which deserves notice. He directed a merchant to sail up to O'Donnell's castle, on the coast of Donegal,

* For some particulars concerning the numerous descendants of the old O'Connor family, and their conflicting claims, see post p. 193.

with a cargo of Spanish wine, to decoy the old chief and his son on board, and then put to sea, and convey them to Dublin. The merchant, accordingly, announced himself as having a cargo of the most delicious Spanish wines, and invited the neighbouring gentry to come and purchase them. O'Donnell and his son paid him a visit, and invited him to their castle, which he declined, but offered them the treat of a Spanish feast on board his ship. Young O'Donnell accepted of the invitation, was sumptuously entertained, and made the freest use of the Spanish wines, which produced the desired effect. He became intoxicated, the hatches were softly closed, he was taken off and delivered to the lord-deputy, and confined in the castle of Dublin, from whence he contrived to escape with some fellow-prisoners, letting himself down from a window by ropes. After great suffering and fatigue, one of his companions applied to a neighbouring chief of the name of O'Toole, for protection for the only son of O'Donnell of Donegal. O'Toole seized and delivered him to his enemies, and he was again placed in confinement, and loaded with chains. Two years after, he contrived to escape a second time, with Henry and Arthur

O'Nial, sons of Shane O'Nial, who were confined in the same prison. In the confusion and precipitation of their flight, they lost Henry O'Nial, and in vain sought to recover him. The night became dreary and terrible, the wind high, and the snow incessant, and falling thickly upon them. They advanced towards the O'Byrnes, then at war with the queen. Arthur O'Nial's strength failed him; he became quite exhausted, and unable to proceed. O'Donnell striped off his own coat for a covering, and both lay down, sending their guide to Feagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne, of Glen Malure, near Glendalagh, to inform him of their distressing situation. Both were insensible, and covered with snow, when the assistance came. O'Nial had expired, and O'Donnell was with difficulty recovered, and conveyed on men's backs to Glen Malure, where they were hailed with thrilling shouts of exultation.

O'Donnell soon after set out for his own country. The lord-deputy posted guards on the fords of the river Liffey, but Fiagh escorted him to a ford near the city, where it was not expected he would venture; he passed in safety, and, after a laborious and difficult journey, he was joyfully received by the brave Hugh

M'Guire, and conducted by water to his father's castle at Ballyshannon. The old chieftain resigned the chieftainry of Tirconnell to his restored son, and the O'Nials were united with him in their common cause against their common enemies.*

Queen Elizabeth's last war with the Irish Roman Catholics commenced in the year 1588, and, from its distinguished leader, has been named the Tyrone war. O'Nial, earl of Tyrone, was the grandson of Con O'Nial, who had been created earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII., and was himself created earl of Tyrone by Elizabeth, with whom he was a favourite.

The queen was now at war with Philip II. of Spain, and he only awaited a favourable opportunity to declare war against the English. Some Spaniards were cast on the coast of Ulster, whose wretched distress attracted O'Nial, who relieved them, not reflecting that they were, constructively, the queen's enemies; for this grave offence he was summoned, and attended before her majesty, pleaded his own cause with ability and success, and returned from England in the full enjoyment of her favour and confi-

* Dr. O'Conor's "Memoirs," already mentioned.

dence. O'Rorke, of Breffney, was not so fortunate. He had given similar relief to some poor shipwrecked Spaniards on the coast of Sligo, and Sir R. Bingham, to punish him for such indiscreet humanity, led a strong force into his territories. O'Rorke fled to Scotland, and sought protection from James VI., who he believed was at war with Elizabeth, and who had secretly aided the Irish in their wars; but having made peace with her, he treacherously seized O'Rorke, and sent him in chains to her majesty, who ordered him to be hanged, without the formality of a trial.

The Irish Roman Catholic party in Ulster was now rapidly gaining strength. O'Donnell determined on resisting the enemies of his country, with all his power and influence. M'Guire, of Fermanagh, took up arms with the same laudable determination. William Gilbert was sent with a strong force against them, and they fought a brisk engagement, in which Gilbert was killed, and his troops put to flight. The earl of Tyrone, who was now acting with consummate duplicity, was placed in some difficulty; he could neither declare against the queen nor remain neutral. He was constrained by circumstances to join her army, and was

sent with Marshal Bagnal, and a strong force, against M'Guire, who, though he had received a small reinforcement from O'Donnell, was still too weak to encounter so powerful an enemy, and had no artillery.

Tyrone crossed the Erne with his cavalry, broke the ranks of M'Guire's infantry, and was wounded in the thigh, and compelled to recross the river. O'Donnell now arrived with reinforcements, and wished to attack the enemy, but was restrained by a secret communication from Tyrone, who retired to Dungannon to have his wounds dressed. In the mean time Sir R. Bingham besieged Enniskillen, and obtained possession of the town through the treachery of one M'Cain, who opened the gates for his admission, and he alone was spared.

Bingham, with his accustomed cruelty, put every man, woman, and child in Enniskillen to the sword, then garrisoned the fortress, and returned to Connaught to avoid meeting M'Guire and O'Donnell, whose united forces were prepared to give him battle with every prospect of success.

Sir Walter Fitzgerald, of the illustrious house of Kildare, rose in arms against the

[illegible], defeated Dudley Bagnal, the marshal's [illegible] Leighlin, where Dudley was slain; [illegible] the Butlers, in Ormond, and [illegible] error of the English.

[illegible] besieged Enniskillen, and the [illegible] sent Sir Henry Duke, with two [illegible] five hundred men, and four hundred [illegible] raise the siege. O'Donnell applied [illegible] for assistance, and declared that he [illegible] the last drop of his blood in the [illegible] his country. Tyrone sent his bro- [illegible] Niall, with three hundred infantry, [illegible] hundred cavalry, to intercept the [illegible] and O'Donnell sent one thou- [illegible] operate with them. The English [illegible] in great force, and reached [illegible] the afternoon, and gained a view [illegible] on the opposite side of the river [illegible] morning. An engagement [illegible] commenced at eleven o'clock in [illegible] and continued until midnight, [illegible] were completely beaten. The [illegible] fightful; the English, in their [illegible] threw the biscuit they had [illegible] Enniskillen into the river, from [illegible] named, the ford of biscuits. [illegible] the defeat of the English,

surrendered to O'Donnell, who proceeded to Connaught to avenge the diabolical massacre of the people of Enniskillen.

The earl of Tyrone had acted his part with equal skill and duplicity. On the death of his troublesome antagonist, Torlagh O'Nial, he laid aside his English title of Earl of Tyrone, assumed the more popular and national title of *The O'Nial*, and declared war against Elizabeth. The queen sent three thousand veteran troops to Ireland, under the command of Sir John Norris, which raised the English army to ten thousand men.

The O'Nial took Portmor, on the Blackwater, and destroyed its fortifications, and wrote to Russell, Ormonde, and Wallop, disclaiming any desire to be at war with the queen, provided the Irish were allowed to profess the religion of their ancestors, on which condition he offered to lay down his arms. A truce was granted for two months, and Sir Robert Gardiner and Sir Henry Wallop were authorised to conclude a peace with the Roman Catholics. A conference was held in the view of both armies. The Roman Catholics demanded three things: firstly, general freedom of conscience; secondly, full pardon for the

past; thirdly, the removal of English garrisons, sheriffs, and officers of justice from the province of Ulster, except from Newry and Carrickfergus.

These terms were rejected, but the truce was extended to the first of April, when Russell and Norris marched their troops to Dundalk, and met the enemy at Killclanna, where they fought a battle, from which the English were forced to retreat, leaving six hundred men on the field, while *The O'Nial's* loss was under two hundred men.

Norris now marched towards Monaghan, which had been surrendered to the enemy. *The O'Nial* intercepted him on his march; another battle ensued, in which both Norris and his brother were wounded, and *The O'Nial* was again victorious.

O'Donnell now reached Sligo, where young George Bingham held the castle with two hundred men, English and Irish. Ulic Burke and the Irish soldiers mutinied, slew Bingham and all the English soldiers, and surrendered the castle to O'Donnell. Sir George Bingham besieged Sligo, but O'Donnell returned and speedily raised the siege, and received a reinforcement of two hundred men, with a conside-

rable amount of ammunition from Spain, and promises of further assistance.

The English took Armagh by surprise, and garrisoned it with five hundred men; they then marched to Dundalk. *The O'Nial* besieged Armagh; provisions were forwarded, under a strong escort, for the relief of the town; *The O'Nial* intercepted and attacked the escort and put them to the sword, and then took Armagh by a curious stratagem. He disguised some of his men in the uniform of the English soldiers they had slain, and they marched to the ruins of a monastery, within gun-shot of the town. He pursued them with the remainder of his troops in view of the garrison, and commenced a sham fight with them. Stafford, the commander of the garrison, sent half his forces to their aid; they were speedily cut to pieces, and finding his forces so much reduced, and the expected relief intercepted, he surrendered the place.

Sir George Bingham was now removed, and Sir Comyn Clifford appointed in his place. General Norris fought his last battle with *The O'Nial* at Mullaghbrear, where he was severely wounded, and completely defeated. He now led a powerful army into Connaught, where he

was joined by Thomond, Clanricarde, Theobald Burke, (the naval) and other chiefs. He approached the enemy, and demanded a conference, which proved abortive, and hostilities were commenced. Norris soon found his army so weakened, by defeat and desertion, that he returned from Connaught, without gaining the slightest advantage, overwhelmed with disappointment. Russell was now recalled, and lord Borrough, an efficient officer, but haughty and overbearing in his demeanour, was entrusted with the Irish government. He led his troops into Ulster, took Portmor, and garrisoned Armagh, which *The O'Nial* had abandoned, left five hundred men at Portmor, and withdrew, boasting, that he had the key of Ulster, — but the lock was broken.

Being informed that Portmor was besieged, he returned to raise the siege, but was intercepted by *The O'Nial* at *Dronin Fluich*, where they fought a sanguinary battle, in which Borrough was mortally wounded, and the English defeated. The earl of Kildare now took the command of the English army, and in a second engagement was mortally wounded; the carnage was dreadful, and *The O'Nial* again victorious.

Clifford was now on his march from Connaught with seven hundred men to join the army in Ulster, but O'Donnell intercepted and defeated him.

The earl of Ormonde now took the command of the English army. *The O'Nial* sent five hundred men to assist his ally, O'Moore of Leix, who was besieging Portluice. This compelled Ormonde to divide his forces. He sent three thousand against O'Moore, and five thousand against *The O'Nial*, under the command of Marshal Bagnal. Bryan O'Moore *Ruadh* defeated his troops, with great slaughter; fifteen hundred of his men, and most of his officers, were slain, and Portluice was taken, but the brave O'Moore was mortally wounded, and died soon after his brilliant achievements.

The English were equally unsuccessful in Ulster. *The O'Nial*, O'Donnell, and M'Guire fought Bagnal at Portmor, where Bagnal and twenty-four of his principal officers were slain, and his army put to flight; their magazine was accidentally blown up, which greatly augmented their losses. This important victory cost *The O'Nial* six hundred men wounded, and two hundred killed, and was followed by the surrender of Portmor. *The O'Nial* was

now, after a series of glorious victories, hailed as the deliverer of his country.

Clifford now marched with four thousand men, and some Irish auxiliaries, to besiege Ballyshannon, a strong place in O'Donnell's territories. Having advanced to the banks of the Erne, Lord Inchiquin, attempting to cross the river, was thrown from his horse, and drowned. Owen Crawford, a Scotchman, defended the place with eighty men. O'Connor, of Sligo, fought in the English cavalry, and was dangerously wounded; Clifford, erroneously supposing that *The O'Nial* was approaching on one side, and O'Donnell on the other, fled with the utmost precipitation, and lost three hundred men, killed or drowned, in crossing the river. In the mean time O'Donnell marched as far as Athenry, which he took, putting the garrison to the sword, and laid waste the lands of Inchiquin, the O'Briens, and the O'Shaughnessys.

Lord Essex now arrived as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with a powerful army, consisting of seventeen thousand infantry and thirteen thousand cavalry, with instructions to turn all his strength against *The O'Nial*, placing strong garrisons at Loughfoyle and Ballyshan-

non. Instead of doing so, he divided his forces, sent three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry into Connaught, and led the remainder into Munster. His rear-guard was severely handled, in passing through Leinster, by Owen O'Moore, and his losses were considerable. He besieged Cahir on the Suir, which surrendered. He then marched to Askeaton, and was reinforced by Thomond, Clanricarde, and other chiefs, and pursued by Desmond and others with two thousand five hundred men. They fought a battle, in which Henry Norris fell. He then marched to Waterford, while General Warrington received a severe check in Leix: the English, after immense slaughter, fled from the field, and he lost twelve hundred men, with most of his officers. Adam Loftus, son of the archbishop, was amongst the slain.

Christopher Brook was now sent to Ireland as marshal. He proceeded to Offaly, where he was defeated by O'Connor with great loss, and his leg broken. He returned to Dublin with the wreck of his army, and was informed that Cahir was retaken, and the garrison put to the sword.

Lord Essex, whose Irish campaign was so

discreditable to him, was now driven to seek for reinforcements. He marched towards Ulster, and ordered Clifford to join him: Clifford assembled his forces at Athlone. O'Connor, of Sligo, scoured the country with his cavalry, and did his utmost to constrain the inhabitants to abandon the brave O'Donnell, to whom they were strongly attached, but meeting some of O'Donnell's forces, he took refuge in Kilmuiny, near Sligo, where O'Donnell left two hundred men to besiege him.

Clifford reviewed his troops, consisting of two thousand five hundred infantry, and a few squadrons of cavalry. Sir Hugh O'Connor, Milner M'Sweeny, a deserter from O'Donnell, and Richard Burke, son of the earl of Clancarty, joined Clifford, who marched from Athlone to Boyle.

O'Donnell garrisoned Sligo with five hundred men, after which he marched with O'Dogherty, prince of Innis-Owen, and the remainder of his forces, to Croslieve mountains, where Clifford held the pass into the county of Sligo. O'Donnell possessed himself of the defiles of the mountain, and encamped in the adjoining plain. He sent M'Sweeny and O'Gallagher, with six hundred men, to stop the progress of the

enemy while he was preparing for battle. The engagement commenced at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and continued for some time with mutual carnage and success, until O'Rorke appeared at the head of a body of infantry, and turned the scale of victory. The English flung away their arms and fled, and were pursued for three miles with great slaughter. Sir Markham Griffin, who commanded the cavalry at Boyle, came to their aid, but he was driven back and severely wounded. Clifford fell, and fifteen hundred men were slain in the battle and flight of the English troops; while O'Donnell only lost one hundred and forty men, killed and wounded. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Irish, and O'Connor, of Sligo, surrendered to O'Donnell.

Lord Essex having received a reproachful letter from the queen, sailed for England, was sent to the Tower, and soon after beheaded.

Philip III., of Spain, now sent a crown of phœnix feathers, and twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, to *The O'Nial*, who renewed his hostilities, and marched with seven thousand men to Cork, where he encamped. M'Carthy *Reagh* sent deputies, with a copy of the sentence of excommunication of Pope Pius V. against

Elizabeth, to excite those whom he considered were hesitating about joining the confederates. Some skirmishes occurred, and in one of them between M'Guire, who commanded *The O'Nial's* cavalry, and St. Leger, president of Munster, both were killed. *The O'Nial* returned to Ulster, without having gained any advantage by his expedition.

Lord Mountjoy was now appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and George Carew, president of Munster. Lord Mountjoy, who had bestowed much attention on the Irish wars, commenced a system of warfare wholly new to his brave antagonists, and carried it out with promptitude and vigour. His plans were judiciously concerted, and maturely weighed; a thorough acquaintance with the habits of the Irish, their desultory mode of warfare, their rapid assemblage, and as rapid dispersion, by which they often seized important advantages, and frequently eluded the grasp of a victorious army, enabled him to guard against sudden and unexpected attacks, and to conduct the war with prudence and success.

The Queen sent additional reinforcements, and Lord Mountjoy commenced by sending a fleet to Loughfoyle under Sir Henry Dockwra,

with five hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry on board, with abundance of ammunition and warlike stores.

Dorkwra had three forts constructed on the banks of Loughfoyle, from whence he made frequent incursions. Lord Mountjoy then marched into Leix, and cut down the green crops, to deprive the inhabitants of food for the winter season. The Roman Catholics attacked both the reapers and the military with undaunted courage, and he was dismounted, and narrowly escaped across a bog; and Owen O'Moore, the main support of the confederates in Leinster, was killed in this conflict.

In Ulster, the English took Derry, where Dorkwra was dangerously wounded by young Hugh O'Donnell; but while O'Donnell was engaged in a successful incursion in Connaught, the Roman Catholics became disunited. Arthur O'Nial declared for the queen; Neal O'Donnell followed his example, and treacherously surrendered Lifford. O'Donnell besieged Lifford, which was burned, and one thousand men perished in the flames, and amongst them Connor O'Donnell, the brother of the perfidious Neal O'Donnell, who surrendered the town.

Lord Mountjoy led six thousand men into

Ulster, and fought two sanguinary battles with *The O'Nial*, one near Dundalk and the other at Carlingford, in both of which the unconquerable *O'Nial* was victorious. Four thousand of the English were slain, and Lord Mountjoy dangerously wounded. The government now offered £2000 for *The O'Nial* alive, or £1000 for his head.

In order to promote disunion, the government conferred the principality of Tirconnell on Neal Garbh O'Donnell,* and Fermanagh on Connor M'Guire *Ruadh*, to the exclusion of the lawful princes. They got the reproachful appellation of the Queen's O'Donnell and M'Guire.

All the hopes of the Irish now rested on *The O'Nial* and O'Donnell, whose forces were worn out, and too feeble to resist the English and subdue their treacherous countrymen.

Philip III. assembled a powerful army under

* Mr. Matthew O'Conor, in his "Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation," states that the O'Donnells could not trace their pedigree for five generations, and were driven to deduce a fictitious descent from this Neal Garbh O'Donnell; but the learned Dr. O'Donovan, in his new edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters," repels the slander on the descendants of the illustrious O'Donnell of Tirconnell, and shows that Mr. O'Conor was in error.

Don Juan del Aquila.* He sailed for Ireland: a storm arose, and separated the ships. Seven of them, laden with artillery, provisions, and stores, were unable to proceed, and obliged to run into Corunna; the remainder, with Don Juan and two thousand five hundred infantry, with difficulty reached Kinsale, and Lord Mountjoy marched with seven thousand six hundred men to Kinsale, and encamped on Spittle hill, within musket-shot of the town. Captain Briton, who arrived with provisions, was ordered to blockade the harbour. The English received a reinforcement, and now had eight thousand men and a powerful train of artillery. The Spaniards had only two thousand five hundred men, and three pieces of cannon. Briton guarded the mouth of the harbour, until Admiral Levison arrived with ten ships of war, and yet the siege lasted from the 17th October to the 9th January following! Vice-Admiral Don Pedro Zubiar arrived on the 3rd December with only seven hundred men, landed at *Cuan an Caislan*, twenty-five miles from Kinsale, and was well received by the O'Driscolls, chiefs of

* "Don" is not a title of honour in Spain; it is only analogous to *Monsieur* in France, or *Mr.* in Ireland, as Dr. Samuel Johnson states in his Dictionary.

that country. Admiral Levison sailed with six ships of war, and some troops, to engage them, fought for two days with the Spaniards, lost five hundred and seventy-five of his men, and returned boasting of his success. The strong forts commanding the harbour of Beerhaven, including Dunboy, were given up to the vice-admiral's reinforcement.

O'Donnell commenced his march for Kinsale, with two thousand five hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry. President Carew set out with four thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry to intercept him on his march, and advanced towards Ormond, but when he halted at Ardmail, near Cashel, O'Donnell had entered Tipperary through Skerries, and encamped at Holycross, not far from Ardmail. He lighted fires at night to deceive the enemy, and decamped through Slieve Phelim, along the Shannon, got into the county of Limerick through the defiles of the abbey of Oweny, and reached the castle of Crowe. Carew was outgeneralled, gave up the pursuit, and returned to Kinsale.

The O'Nial set out for Kinsale with three thousand men. On the 21st December he and O'Donnell encamped together, within a

few leagues of the English army, which lay encamped between Cork and Kinsale. Their united forces consisted of six thousand Irish and three hundred Spanish soldiers, who came from *Cuan an Caislan* under the command of O'Sullivan of Bearre, and Don Alphonso del Campo. They had no intention of attacking the English, who were in too great force, being fifteen thousand strong; their policy was to reinforce the Spaniards, and sustain them until the inclemency of the season compelled the English to raise the siege, and thus to gain time to procure further aid from Spain, on which they calculated with the utmost confidence, as such assistance was now requisite to extricate their own troops.

Those delusive expectations of foreign assistance were the *ignis fatuus* of all Irish rebellions. The season being too far advanced to continue the campaign, *The O'Nial* returned to Ulster, O'Donnell gave up the command to his brother, and sailed for Spain, O'Rorke returned to Breffney, and the other chiefs followed his example. The Roman Catholic army in Munster was now reduced to a small party of Munstermen and Spaniards, under the command of O'Sullivan of Bearre, and a few other Irish officers.

Don Juan, who had been for some time in private communication with Lord Mountjoy, surrendered to him on favourable conditions, namely: that transports should be provided to convey him and his troops, arms, and ammunition, to Spain with colours flying. The English at the time of this treacherous surrender had only provisions for a few days, and should have raised the siege. The surrender was fatal to the Irish cause.

O'Sullivan of Bearre took possession of the strong castle of Dunboy, and got Fitzmaurice, lord of Lixnow, M'Carthy, Tyrrell, and Burke to join him, and despatched Dermod O'Driscoll to Spain, complaining bitterly of the cowardly and treacherous conduct of Don Juan, and his perfidious surrender of Kinsale.

O'Donnell was received in Spain with every possible mark of distinction, and Philip III. declared, that he would support the Irish Roman Catholics at the risk of his crown. He ordered another expedition to Ireland, and the troops commenced their march to Corrunna. Don Jaun was arrested on his arrival in Spain by the king's orders, and soon after died of grief and vexation.

In the following month of June Lord Mount-

joy commenced another campaign. He marched into Munster, having sent Sir Richard Morrison's regiment to take Dungannon; the inhabitants on his approach burned the town to ashes, with the beautiful castle of *The O'Nial*, whose forces were now reduced to six hundred men.

O'Sullivan Bearre became the chief of the Roman Catholic confederates in Munster, and still held Dunboy, which he strengthened as much as possible. President Carew set out with five thousand men to take Dunboy, and had seventeen hundred more, and a troop of horse, in the county of Kerry, under Wilmot. Richard M'Geoghegan, who had only one hundred and twenty men, defended Dunboy heroically. An English fleet, with ammunition and provisions for the army, reached Cork.

A Spanish ship now reached Killmakillord, near Ardee, with twelve hundred pounds for the Irish chieftains, and James M'Nelanus, and Owen M'Egan, who was appointed bishop of Ross, and apostolical vicar of Ireland, and who was the bearer of renewed promises of aid from the king of Spain. Lord Mountjoy now marched within a mile of the castle of Dunboy, and advanced to reconnoitre it, but the musket-

try forced him to retire. He then opened trenches, under a galling fire and the interruption of vigorous sallies. They at last established themselves within one hundred and forty paces of the castle, and raised a powerful battery; a party was also despatched to possess themselves of Dorsies island, in which there was a small fort garrisoned by forty men, four of whom were killed, and two wounded; the remainder surrendered, and were immediately executed. The unoffending and innocent inhabitants of the island, poor fishermen, and their families, were inhumanly massacred without distinction of age or sex.

The English batteries kept up a constant fire on Dunboy; part of the castle had fallen in, an assault was attempted, and vigorously repulsed. The fire was renewed, and kept up until the vault fell in, and many persons were overwhelmed in its ruins. The besiegers entered in crowds, but were again driven back: on a third assault, after gaining the hall, they were driven out. There were only one hundred and forty-three fighting men in the castle, with five thousand men, and a powerful train of artillery besieging it. Carew seeing the indomitable determination of the

Irish, ordered a fourth assault of a most formidable character. A body of chosen troops were selected from his own regiment, and a powerful force ready to sustain them; the artillery kept up a destructive fire from five until nine o'clock in the forenoon, when a turret fell; still the firing was continued, until five in the afternoon, when a large breach was effected; the troops advanced, the entrance was for a time disputed with invincible courage and desperation, but was at length carried by overwhelming numbers. Blood flowed in every quarter; M'Geoghegan was mortally wounded. The English retired and renewed the contest the following day, when the whole of the one hundred and forty-three men, who were all persons of high honour and heroic bravery, were either killed, buried in the crumbled ruins, or barbarously executed after taking possession of the castle.

On the 31st of December, O'Sullivan, Bearre, O'Connor of Kerry, and a few others, joined their troops with those of the confederatives, and set out to seek refuge in Ulster from *The O'Nial.* Owen M'Egan, apostolical vicar of Ireland, was shot in a skirmish. Dermod M'Carthy, another priest, was taken prisoner

while preparing the wounded for death; he was taken to Cork, tied to a horse's tail, dragged through the streets, hanged and quartered! Lord Mountjoy having received information that Queen Elizabeth was dying, concluded peace with *The O'Nial.* The whole island became subject to her sway, A.D. 1603. The Irish fought to the end of her reign for the freedom of their country and religion, and did not lay down their arms until they obtained favourable terms.

Lord Mountjoy having reduced the country to submission, an act of oblivion and indemnity was promulgated, and he returned to England, accompanied by Roderic O'Donnell and the earl of Tyrone. They were graciously received at court, and James created Roderic O'Donnell earl of Tyrconnell, and confirmed the earl of Tyrone in all his honours and possessions. The barbarous Brehon laws were abolished, and Irish estates were made descendible according to the laws of England; but the peace and prosperity of the country received an unexpected shock, from the disclosure of a mysterious conspiracy, which has never been satisfactorily explained. A letter was dropped in the council chamber, announcing that the earls of Tyrconnell and Ty-

rone, who had recently received so much attention from James, meant to seize on the castle of Dublin, and assassinate the lord-deputy and privy council. On the first intimation of this alarming disclosure, the earls of Tyrconnell and Tyrone immediately fled, and made their escape to Spain, abandoned their vast estates, and never afterwards returned, or took any step to exonerate themselves from so foul an imputation. They were of course attainted of treason, and their estates were confiscated, and the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, escheated to the crown, and were, under the government of Sir Arthur Chichester, formed into the prosperous plantation of Ulster. It was upon this occasion that James I. instituted the order of Baronet, and provided that each baronet, on passing his patent, should contribute a sum sufficient to maintain thirty men for three years, at eight pence per day, in Ulster, to be applied in maintaining a force for the protection of the plantation. The success of this new scheme so fascinated James I., that he conceived a violent passion for extending plantations in Ireland, for which purpose, lands were unjustly seized under old and obsolete titles, and jurors were

frequently fined in the castle chamber, for not finding titles in the crown at the dictation of corrupt judges. The lords and gentlemen of Connaught who had compounded with Sir John Perrott for their estates, neglected having their surrenders enrolled, and did not take out their patents; and although these defects had been cured by new patents in the reign of James I., they were, nevertheless, relied upon as available defects. The proprietors offered to double their rents, and to pay £10,000 for the ratification of their titles and exemption from the oath of supremacy, but the death of James saved them from his oppressive extortions and plantation schemes.

We must not omit the affecting narrative of Roderic O'Donnell's daughter. After his flight with Tyrone, the countess strove in vain to follow her husband, but was arrested and sent under a strong guard to England, where she had a daughter, who received the name of Mary. The king took her under his protection, and commanded that she should be named Stuart instead of O'Donnell, and she was educated with great care in the Roman Catholic religion, to which she became devotedly attached. At the age of fourteen, her aunt, the

countess of Kildare, from whom she had great expectations, took her to court, and the king gave her a large sum of money as her fortune; so that her high birth, large fortune, brilliant expectations, and considerable personal attractions, procured her numerous suitors of the highest distinction, and, amongst them, one much favoured by her aunt, and other influential relatives; but he was not a Roman Catholic, and as she considered that such an alliance was incompatible with her honour and religious sentiments, she rejected the offer.

The importunities of her aunt became so painful to her, she could no longer endure them, and decided on making her escape, and seeking the protection of her brother, the young earl of Tyrconnell, then at the court of Isabella, who governed in the low countries, and who afforded an asylum to all those who were persecuted for their religion. It so happened that about this time some Roman Catholic leaders, suspected of disaffection, were brought prisoners to England, and Constantine O'Donnell and Hugh O'Rorke, her relations, were amongst them. They contrived to escape, and fled to Flanders. Suspicions were entertained that Mary Stuart had afforded them some assistance in their flight;

this circumstance hastened her own departure. She disguised herself and a young lady, who agreed to accompany her, and also their attendant, as gentlemen, took feigned names, and set out on horseback, at night, on their bold and perilous adventure. After many narrow escapes, and much fatigue, they reached Bristol, and sailed from thence to France, where they were safely landed at Rochelle. They still continued to travel in disguise, until they reached Brussels, where Mary Stuart found her brother, and was presented to the Infanta Isabella, who received her with every mark of respect and distinction. Her intrepid conduct was soon spread throughout Europe; she was compared to Euphrosine of Alexandria, Adejonde, and other Christian virgins of antiquity, and Pope Urban VIII. wrote a complimentary letter to her, applauding her for her intrepidity and devotion to her religion.*

The main grievances of which the Irish now complained were the vexatious impeachment of the titles by which they held their estates, and the unjust disqualifications affecting recusants (now a powerful party throughout the country)

* "L'Histoire de l'Irlande," par Monsieur l'Abbé M'Geoghegan, Tom. iii.

under the penal enactments against Roman Catholics. They offered enormous sums of money to Charles I. for the confirmation of their titles, and the suspension of those cruel enactments, which were equally unjust and impolitic.

But Charles I., who considered concessions as a species of royal merchandise, for which he should secure his *quid pro quo*, and uniformly treated the granting of the "graces" (as they were called) as a financial measure, and had no more enlightened view of the subject, would have soon made terms with the Irish Roman Catholics, but that his dread of the growing power of the puritanical party in England, who ultimately brought him to the scaffold, rendered him too timid to carry out his sordid and secret negotiations, in which he was continually receiving the consideration for some promised concessions, and then, on one pretext or another, dexterously withholding them.

On the breaking out of the Scotch rebellion, James, earl of Ormonde, raised a powerful force in Ireland for the service of Charles I., which consisted of eight thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry, of which he afterwards got the command, but, as the requisite supplies for

their support were refused both in England and Ireland, it became necessary to disband this fine army, which, if maintained, would have been sufficient to sustain the Irish government, and preserve the peace of the country. It was, however, disbanded, and Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase were appointed lords justices of Ireland. They were rigid puritans, without either abilities or character, and quite unworthy of the confidence reposed in them. Lord Leicester was appointed lord lieutenant by the influence of the English parliament, and Lord Ormonde, who the king wished to have in that important office, became commander-in-chief of the Irish army, and soon distinguished himself as an able general.

We have now arrived at the conspiracy and rebellion of 1641, which left so many deplorable traces of its fatal influence on the condition of Ireland. Its origin deserves particular notice. Roger Moore, the representative of a once powerful family in the province of Leinster, but reduced to indigence by ruinous confiscations of their property, was a person of considerable intelligence. He had, during a long residence on the continent, imbibed all the bitter hatred of his exiled countrymen for the

oppressors of his country. He was the personal and intimate friend of the only son of the self-banished earl of Tyrone, who commanded a regiment in Spain, and was a great favourite at the Spanish court. Roger Moore and the young earl, brooding over all they had lost, formed the ill-concerted scheme of rescuing their country from the English, and of recovering the possessions of their ancestors. Their reckless determination was the germ of the great rebellion of 1641, known to historians as Roger Moore's rebellion.

To forward and carry out their wild scheme, Roger Moore returned to Ireland, full of sanguine expectations of success, and confidently expecting to receive important assistance both from France and Spain. He was courteous and conciliating, and peculiarly quick in discovering the sentiments and dispositions of those with whom he associated. The old Irish received him with rapturous joy, and manifested the warmest affection for him: their regard for the native gentry was inflamed by their hatred of the English and Scotch, whom they denominated foreigners, and considered as usurpers. Roger Moore excited all their enthusiasm, gained their undivided confidence, and became

the idol of the people. They celebrated him in popular songs, and declared that their whole dependence was "on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore."

Richard Plunket, son of the celebrated leader of the opposition in the time of Chichester's Irish government, who had gained some military reputation in Flanders, willingly joined the conspirators. He was vain, bigoted, and indigent, of plausible and attractive manners, and well suited to promote their views.

Connor M'Guire, baron of Enniskillen, the chieftain of an ancient sept in Fermanagh, a person of mean capacity and licentious habits, deeply involved in debt, and ready to embark in any scheme likely to relieve him from his difficulties, also joined them. Roger Moore, in like manner, obtained the aid of Torlagh O'Nial, and some other influential persons in the northern province.

An emissary now arrived from the young earl of Tyrone, promising arms, ammunition, and supplies from Cardinal Richelieu, but the sudden death of the earl deprived the conspirators of his valuable influence, and those expected supplies. His unexpected death left Sir Phelim O'Nial the ostensible head of his

sept, which gave him extensive influence over the Irish in Ulster. He was a weak, ostentatious, extravagant person, deeply involved in pecuniary difficulties, and at once adopted the views of Roger Moore, and induced Owen O'Nial, an officer of considerable experience in military affairs, who bore a distinguished part in this rebellion, and then on service in Flanders, to promise his assistance.

In order to relieve the country from the inconvenience and embarrassment of the large number of soldiers disbanded from Lord Ormonde's army, who were cast on the public without employment or adequate means of support, permission was given to raise troops in Ireland for the Spanish service, which afforded the conspirators an available pretext for raising and drilling troops without attracting any particular notice, or causing any alarm.

It was agreed that some of the conspirators should seize on the castle of Dublin, and that there should be a simultaneous rising in Ulster; and the time was fixed for both operations. They also arranged to possess themselves of the rents throughout the kingdom for supplies, and calculated on receiving considerable assistance

from foreign countries. The pope, Cardinal Richelieu, and the king of Spain, were considered as strenuous supporters.

On the eve of the 22nd October, 1641, the leading conspirators arrived in Dublin, but found that only eighty of the detachment appointed to seize on the castle were in attendance; yet all appeared safe and promising, and their intended victims were unconscious of their threatened ruin. The assault was, however, postponed to the afternoon of the following day, in expectation that further assistance would arrive. The earl of Leicester had been appointed lord-lieutenant, but the government still remained in the hands of Parsons and Borlace, and they were too intent on their own private concerns to pay much attention to their public duties.

At this important crisis, Owen O'Connolly, a person in the employment of Sir John Clotworthy, was incautiously entrusted with the secret, and, in a fit of drunkenness, disclosed it to the privy council. A few hours would have found the conspirators in possession of the castle of Dublin, which was quite unprepared for making the slightest resistance. M'Mahon, who had entrusted O'Connolly with the secret,

was arrested, and made a full confession of their designs, boasting, at the same time, that the rebellion was too wide-spread to be suppressed, and that his death would be speedily avenged. Sir Francis Willoughby, the governor of Galway, had fortunately just arrived in town, and got the command of the castle and the city of Dublin; a proclamation was issued, calling on all loyal subjects to prepare for defence, and prohibiting any further levies for foreign service. There were four hundred men on board of ships in the harbour, who had been previously stopped by an order from the English parliament. They were, imprudently, allowed to land and disperse, and afterwards joined the rebels.

The Roman Catholic lords of the pale, Lords Gormanstown, Netterville, Fitzwilliam, Howth, Kildare, Fingal, Dunsany, and Slane, made a solemn declaration of their loyalty and readiness to assist in the defence of the realm; and as they were, from their local positions, exposed to the attacks of the rebels, they sought a supply of arms for their protection, but, being Roman Catholics, they were suspected of disaffection, and very sparingly supplied, and the arms which they received were afterwards un-

graciously recalled, on a feigned pretence that they were required for the public service. In the mean time an account reached Dublin that Sir Phelim O'Nial had taken up arms against the government in Ulster, surprised and plundered the castle of Charlemont, of which Lord Caulfield was governor, and seized the fort and town of Mountjoy. Charles I., who was then in Scotland, sent over fifteen hundred men, under experienced officers, with arms and ammunition, and some steps were taken to disperse the rebels. In Fermanagh they were forced to raise the siege of Enniskillen; and Lord M'Guire's own castle was taken. In Tyrone, Sir Phelim was forced to raise the seige in Castledermot. In Donegal he was again defeated, and now invested Lisburn with a regular force of four thousand men. Sir Arthur Tyringham reinforced the garrison, and the rebels were put to flight with great slaughter. Lurgan was surrendered to Sir Phelim upon conditions which he unscrupulously violated, and gave up the town to be plundered by his rapacious followers.

On every occasion of defeat Sir Phelim plunged his forces deep in cruelty and blood, as if to guard against any desertion of his troops,

by cutting off every approach towards reconciliation with the government. On his defeat at the castle of Augher, he ordered his execrable agent, M'Donnell, to massacre the English Protestants in the adjoining parishes. On his defeat at Lisburn, Lord Caulfield and fifty other prisoners were cruelly slaughtered; and on another occasion, one hundred and ninety prisoners were precipitated from the bridge of Portadown. The English were excited to madness by these barbarous cruelties, and their acts of retaliation were equally wanton and inhuman. The Scotch soldiers issued forth from Carrickfergus, and massacred thirty poor unoffending familes in their beds in a place named Island Magee: this occurred in January, soon after Sir Phelim had perpetrated his atrocious cruelties.*

Lord Ormonde, anxious to stem the progress of the rebels, did his utmost to prevail on the lords justices to adopt active measures against them, and sought permission to disperse them. But the lords justices, who calculated on a rich harvest of forfeitures and confiscations, were little disposed to act with such promptitude,

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and only sent Sir Henry Tichburne, with his regiment, to garrison Drogheda, where the rebels were in great force

The Irish rebellion was quite a god-send to the puritanical party in the English parliament; it sustained their outcry against the Roman Catholics, and their designs against the king. They voted one hundred thousand pounds for the Irish war, and resolved on raising forces for an Irish expedition, but applied the money to their own purposes, and turned the forces against the crown. The rebellion, under such fostering care, was rapidly spreading. In the counties of Leitrim, Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow, the Irish rose in arms, and extended their ravages to the walls of Dublin.

All persons not resident in Dublin were ordered to leave the city within twenty-four hours, on pain of death. This injudicious order, which deprived many well-affected persons of refuge and protection, drove them for self-defence to join in a rebellion of which they disapproved, and which they would have gladly opposed. The English parliament adopted the singular course of sending a deputation to the leaders of the rebellion, to demand an explanation of their views and objects. The deputies found

Roger Moore and M'Mahon near Dundalk, at the head of two thousand five hundred men. Roger Moore tore the order of the parliament, and dismissed the deputies with the utmost contempt. He recommended his associates to renounce all factious distinctions, and to rest their cause on more general grounds—"on their civil and religious rights, as subjects of Charles I.," and gave his forces the imposing name of "the Catholic army." He also published an oath of association, which presented a favourable interpretation of their motives and cause

Sir Charles Coote, a soldier of fortune, of a cruel and blood-thirsty disposition, and anxious to revenge injuries done to his own possessions, was ordered to drive the rebels from the castle of Wicklow, which he easily effected; but, after having done so, he committed unprovoked and indiscriminate carnage in the town, which caused great alarm throughout Leinster, and induced a general belief that the Irish were to be massacred, and many took up arms for self-defence.

Lord Gormanstown, alarmed by such misdirected and unprovoked cruelty, ordered the sheriff of Meath to convene a county meeting

for the consideration of their affairs, which he accordingly did, and the Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, Slane, Howth, Dunsany, Trimblestown, Netterville, and above a thousand of the principal gentry of the country, assembled at the hill of Crofty, where Roger Moore attended with a detachment of the rebel forces. Gormanstown demanded for what purpose they entered the pale; and Roger Moore explained that they did so for the maintenance of the king's prerogatives, and to make his Irish subjects as free as those of England. And, upon his solemn assurance that such were his true motives, Lord Gormanstown declared that he would unite with him for those purposes, and an adjourned meeting was appointed to be held at Tarah.

The noblemen and gentlemen of the pale, who joined in these proceedings, justified the course they adopted by reference to the conduct of the lords justices, the cruelties of Sir Charles Coote, and their apprehension of an intended massacre of the Roman Catholics, and petitioned the king for the redress of their grievances. They also proceeded to levy forces, appoint commanders and officers, and provide supplies for the maintenance of their troops, but kept

themselves distinct from the rebels, expressed their anxiety to effect a speedy reconciliation with the government, and disclaimed all motives but self-preservation.

The rebels being in great force near Drogheda, cut off all supplies from the town, and reduced the inhabitants to a wretched state, for want of provisions. Sir Richard Grenville and Colonel Monk arrived in Dublin with reinforcements from England, but brought neither supplies nor provisions, which aggravated the distress in the city; and Lord Ormonde was sent with three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, towards the Boyne, with peremptory instructions not to cross that river. On his approach the rebels retired, and he sought permission to cross the Boyne, and disperse them; this was refused, and the lords justices would only permit him to reinforce Tichburne with five hundred men.

The insurgents of the pale, seeing the cowardice of the rebels, and perhaps considering that their own proceedings were unnecessary, wished to submit and make peace with the government; and for that purpose applied to Lord Ormonde to receive their submissions, and he referred to the lords justices for instructions. But nothing

could be further from their wishes than a reconciliation with noblemen and gentlemen who had large estates for forfeiture and confiscation, and they accordingly instructed Lord Ormonde not to receive their submissions, but to contrive that those who sought him for such purposes should fall into the hands of the soldiers, and be sent as prisoners of war to Dublin; and those who fell into the snare were cast into prison, and had indictments found against them for treason.

Lord Ormonde was now sent into Kildare to disperse the rebels, and found Lord Dunboyne, Roger Moore, and other leaders assembled with eight thousand foot, and some troops of horse, ready to give him battle; but not being in a position to encounter so strong a force, he commenced his retreat towards Dublin, and the rebels, relying on their numbers, pursued him, and compelled him to fight an engagement, in which he gained a glorious victory, for which the English parliament presented him with a jewel of great value, and petitioned the king to make him a knight of the garter.

Lord Inchiquin, the president of Munster, had been left without supplies or support for a considerable time, and now received ten thou-

sand pounds from England, and Lord Forbes arrived with twelve hundred men to reinforce him; but being a furious puritan, he refused to join his troops, re-embarked, and sailed to Galway, where he committed wanton atrocities, defaced St. Mary's church, dug up the graves, burned the bones of the dead, and departed with the well-deserved execration of the people.

Some Scotch troops now landed in Ulster, under the command of Robert Monroe, and were reinforced by eighteen hundred foot, and some cavalry. He marched to Newry, and at his approach the rebels retired, but, having an understanding with the lords justices, he did not pursue or disperse them. He put sixty men and eighteen women to death, garrisoned Newry, and proceeded to Carrickfergus, leaving the English force to deal as they chose with the rebels, while he ravaged the country, and exported vast herds of cattle to Scotland.

Owen O'Nial, an able and experienced officer, who had been serving in Flanders, now arrived from Dunkirk with one hundred officers, arms, and ammunition; he indignantly denounced the barbarous cruelties of Sir Phelim O'Nial, and was appointed leader of the Catholic army.

He fortified himself in Charlemont, which he made as strong as possible, expecting to be soon attacked by superior forces, but neither the English nor the Scotch attempted to dislodge him.

The earl of Levan also arrived with reinforcements from Scotland, which raised the Scotch army to ten thousand men, and the united strength of the English and Scotch, now placed under the command of Earl Levan, was twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse; but the earl soon gave up the command to Monroe, and returned to Scotland.

Colonel Preston, the brother of Lord Gormanstown, arrived at Wexford with five hundred officers, skilful engineers, ordnance and ammunition, from Dunkirk; and some vessels arrived from Nantes, St. Malo, and Rochelle, with artillery and Irish troops, discharged from the French service by Cardinal Richelieu, who sent them with warm assurances of further assistance.

A general synod was now held at Kilkenny, where the clergy declared the war just and lawful; and an oath of association was framed, and sentence of excommunication denounced against all persons who refused to take it, all

who assisted the enemy, and all neuters. This was a comprehensive curse; it seems to have included all mankind except the associates. They also directed that ambassadors should be sent to the emperor, the king of France, and the pope, to solicit their co-operation and assistance in a struggle for their freedom and religion.

The nobility assisted in framing the oath, and naming a supreme council, of which Lord Mountgarret was chosen president. Their general meeting consisted of two houses: the prelates and nobles, and the deputies from the counties and cities. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, sat to represent the judges, and Nicholas Plunket was named speaker. All sat in one chamber, but the lords had another for consultation.

The confederates, thus assembled, professed to maintain the just prerogatives of the crown, but renounced the authority of the lords justices, and the Irish government.

The supreme council consisted of twenty-four persons chosen by the general convention, and had the command of all civil and military officers, and very extensive general jurisdiction; and there was a guard of five hundred foot, and

two hundred horse, assigned for the protection of the assembly.

The provincial generals were Owen O'Nial for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, and Colonel John Burke for Connaught.

Ambassadors were sent to foreign courts, and petitions to the king and queen, setting forth the grievances which occasioned the formation of the confederacy.

Lord Castlehaven became an associate, and took the command of the Leinster horse under General Preston. On the other hand, Lord Ormonde was created a marquis, and got the command of the army; and Lord Leicester being the lord lieutenant appointed by the influence of the English parliament, and Lord Ormonde an enthusiastic loyalist, he thwarted Lord Ormonde in every way in his power.

The English parliament sent over two of their own members, Reynolds and Goodwin, to undermine Lord Ormonde, and if possible to gain over the army to their views. They brought twenty thousand pounds in money, and some provisions with them, and were sustained and assisted by the lords justices, who acted as their accomplices, and admitted them without

the king's authority into the privy council, from which they were soon removed by his express command. He also sent over warrants to have them arrested, but they fled, and narrowly escaped incarceration. This led to the removal of Parsons, who was the true source of all the corruption and misconduct of the Irish government since his appointment. Sir Henry Tishbourne was appointed in his place.

The marquis of Ormonde was now engaged in negotiating a treaty with the confederates for a cessation of hostilities, as introductory to a permanent peace. The difficulties he had to contend with were two-fold; the ambitious and exorbitant demands of the clergy on the one side, and the designs of the puritanial party in the English parliament on the other. The preliminary treaty, however, was adjusted, signed, and ratified by the lords justices, and notified by proclamation, and the cessation of hostilities mutually established.

Unfortunately Pope Pius X. sent over his nuncio Rinunccini, a violent and overbearing ecclesiastic, with instructions to support the claims of the clergy, and to protect the interests of the Holy See, This, Rinunccini considered

sufficient authority to sustain him in the most mischievous and extravagant schemes for the aggrandisement of the Roman Catholic church, and its hierarchy. His policy was, to resist all terms of reconciliation with the Irish government, unless the Roman Catholics obtained complete ascendancy. The supreme council of Kilkenny rejected his inadmissible views, whereupon he became their inveterate opponent, resisted all their measures, and ultimately succeeded in ruining the cause of the Roman Catholic confederates, and bringing indelible disgrace upon his own character.

Peace was at length concluded, in spite of his efforts to defeat the negotiation, and was carried by a large majority of the assembly on the 29th July, 1646, and formally notified by proclamation; but Rinunccini was dissatisfied, and indefatigable in his exertions to defeat the treaty, and to involve his successful opponents in new difficulties. His first step was to gain over General O'Nial to his views, and to prevail on him to violate the treaty. O'Nial assembled his forces, amounting to five thousand men and five hundred horse, and led them towards Armagh, which he intended to invest; but the Scottish general, Monroe, being aware

of his intentions, thought to intercept and surprise him, and cut off his army. Both generals met at a place named Benburb, where they fought a celebrated battle, in which O'Nial gained a signal victory, and Munroe lost three thousand of his troops. O'Nial was now in a position to reduce Ulster, which he would soon have accomplished, had not the restless nuncio called him off to Leinster to resist the peace he so bitterly condemned. General Preston was also suspected of favouring the nuncio's views.

Lord Ormonde, relying on a peace which he considered so beneficial to all parties, marched with a small force to Kilkenny to concert measures with his new allies, but General Preston feigned indisposition, and would not attend the lord lieutenant, while he and O'Nial were, with the privity of the nuncio, forming a plot to intercept the lord lieutenant on his return, make him prisoner, and cut off his troops. His lordship, however, received information of their treacherous designs, and made his retreat with great celerity, and by forced marches reached the city of Dublin in safety.

Rinunccini being now supported by the generals O'Nial and Preston, became quite ungovernable, made a public entry into Kil-

kenny, had the supreme council put under arrest by General Preston, appointed a new council, consisting of four bishops and four laymen, in which he acted as president, and exercised despotic power over all their proceedings.

Lord Ormonde, who had exhausted all his resources in the support of the army under his command, now saw that no reliance could be placed on any treaty with the Irish confederates, that they were subject to influences over which he could gain no control, and, as he had the king's instructions rather to submit to the English parliament than to the extreme views of the Irish rebels, he reluctantly sought the aid of the English parliament, as a *dernier resort*, declaring, at the same time, that unless he received effectual support he should prefer giving up the government, which could not be otherwise maintained.

In the mean time the nuncio, in his frantic ambition, sent his two generals to besiege Dublin. They had old animosities and jealousies to contend with, and to divide and distract their councils, and could not co-operate with each other; whatever one approved of the other opposed and condemned, until, at

length, General Preston turned over to Lord Ormonde, and O'Nial led off his forces; and thus ended the siege of the city of Dublin.

The English parliament sent over two thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry to relieve Dublin, and also sent commissioners to treat with Lord Ormonde for the surrender of the garrisons and government entrusted to his care; but on discussing their proposals he rejected the terms they offered, and the troops re-embarked and proceeded to Ulster, where they were very reluctantly received by Munroe. Lord Ormonde could not, however, hold out without assistance, and finally agreed to surrender his garrisons and government, on the 28th July, 1647, upon the following conditions; that is to say: that the Protestants should be protected; that whoever wished should be allowed to accompany him; that the recusants who were not engaged in the rebellion should be protected; that he should be allowed to reside in England, conforming to the ordinances of parliament; and that he should be paid his advances in the public service. It was admitted that he had advanced £13,877, and the commissioners undertook to pay him £3000 before his departure, and to secure the remain-

der to him by bills. He, accordingly, embarked for England on the day agreed upon, landed at Bristol, and, after an affecting interview with the king, in which he approved of the course he adopted, and a short sojourn in the neighbourhood of London, he deemed it prudent to leave the country, and reside in France, where he remained in attendance on the Queen and Prince Charles.

In the mean time Michael Jones, an austere republican, was appointed governor of Dublin, and commander of the Leinster army, under the parliament. These troops were in a miserable condition, unpaid, disaffected, and insubordinate, and sustaining themselves upon lawless plunder.

General Preston was still at the head of seven thousand infantry and a thousand horse, hovering about the city of Dublin; Jones had a nearly equal force, and he led them forth to give him battle. Both armies met at Dangan hill, where they fought a sanguinary engagement, in which Jones gained a signal victory. The carnage was frightful on both sides, and Preston fled with the remains of his army, and marched to Carlow.

Lord Inchiquin also took the field in Mun-

ster, took Cahir and Cashel, in which several ecclesiastics were slain; and Rinunccini was furious at the slaughter of the clergy. Inchiquin then fought the memorable battle of Knocknoness, in which over three thousand of the confederates' Munster troops were slain.

The assembly of Kilkenny was now anxious for peace, which Rinunccini resisted with all his power and influence, rejecting all forms of government but the election of the pope as king of Ireland, and a government administered by the Roman Catholic clergy; yet there were no means for carrying on the war, which this insane politician advocated with such reckless obstinacy.

The council seeing the impracticability of his views, decided in favour of a cessation of hostilities, and declared General O'Nial a traitor, for his violation of the peace. They also expelled Rinunccini, and prepared articles of accusation against him to be forwarded to Rome, of which they gave him notice, and warned him to prepare his defence. A deputation was also sent to implore the Queen to employ Lord Ormonde as lord lieutenant, to arrange the distracted affairs of Ireland, and they strenuously advocated his return to the country as lord lieutenant.

Their wishes were complied with, and Lord Ormonde landed at Cork in the month of September, 1648, and was received with all the respect due to his official position. His policy was to unite the loyal Protestants and Roman Catholics, and to form a strong party against the king's enemies.

Charles I., who was engaged in the suicidal treaty of Newport, by which he relinquished the government of Ireland, and the control of the Irish war to the English parliament, and agreed to rescind all the concessions theretofore made to the Roman Catholics, wrote to Lord Ormonde directing him to pay no attention to his public commands while he continued under restraint, and added that all his concessions would come to nothing.

Lord Ormonde proceeded in his negotiations with the confederates, and concluded a treaty of peace with them, but before it reached London, Charles I. was taken to the scaffold and beheaded.

Lord Ormonde had the young prince proclaimed as Charles II. wherever he had any authority throughout Ireland, and having collected an army of sixteen hundred men, advanced against the parliamentary gar-

risons, and resolved on besieging the city of Dublin.

Cromwell's proceedings in England form no part of our narrative. He was named lord lieutenant of Ireland, and sent Reynolds and Venables with four thousand infantry to relieve Dublin, and to assist Jones in defending himself against Lord Ormonde, who lay at Finglass with a large force, meditating his intended attack on the city. He crossed over to Rathmines, and after a successful sally on a party which had gained a position near the river, Jones fell in with his army and put them to flight. This engagement was ruinous to the royal cause.

Cromwell soon after arrived in Ireland. He landed at Dublin on the fifth of August, 1649, with a powerful army, accompanied by his son-in-law, Ireton, and, after making some civil and military arrangements, and appointing Theophilus Jones governor of Dublin, took the field, with ten thousand chosen troops, to trample out the last spark of Irish freedom in the blood of her Celtic race.

He led his troops to Drogheda, which had been recently reinforced and put in a state of defence, and which Lord Ormonde erroneously

considered could hold out while he was collecting his strength to give him more effectual resistance.

Sir Arthur Ashton was the governor of Drogheda, with a garrison of three thousand men, all disciplined soldiers, animated by a resolute determination to maintain their position against a tyrant they abhorred. Upon Sir Arthur's refusal to surrender, the siege commenced with unusual vigour. Cromwell, disdaining the slow progress of a formal siege, planted his cannon within destructive range, and opened a heavy fire upon the town, which was kept up for two days without intermission; at length a breach was effected, and an assault made, which was twice repulsed with success, but on the third assault, led on by Cromwell, the town was gained. Quarter was promised to all who laid down their arms, but no sooner was possession obtained, than the fatal order was given to put the garrison to the sword.

Sir Arthur Ashton, several officers of distinction, a number of Roman Catholic clergymen, and three thousand soldiers, were all brutally and wantonly butchered.

Venables was then despatched with a strong force to reduce Ulster, where the principal

towns surrendered without making any resistance.

Cromwell returned to Dublin, gave the command of the city to Colonel Hewson, and proceeded through Wicklow to Wexford, where he arrived on the first of October, after having taken Arklow, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and other minor places on his march. Colonel Synot commanded the town, and Captain Stafford the castle. Lord Castlehaven contrived to introduce a large reinforcement, and Lord Ormonde another, of a thousand men, under Sir Edmond Butler, and it was expected that they would make a vigorous defence; but all their efforts were frustrated by the unforeseen treachery of an individual. Captain Stafford surrendered the castle to Cromwell on conditions, which he unscrupulously disregarded.

Sir Edmond Butler was shot while swimming across the river to save himself; the troops, exceeding two thousand men and many distinguished officers, were deliberately butchered; and two hundred ladies, who sought mercy on their knees, were inhumanly slaughtered at the cross in the great square.

The Marquis of Ormonde exerted all his influence to gain over General O'Nial to the

royal cause, offering him any terms he could desire, and, no doubt, would have succeeded with him, but the General unexpectedly died, and his death extinguished all hope of success either for Lord Ormonde or the Roman Catholic confederates.

From Wexford, Cromwell marched to Ross, which, being untenable and a breach effected, surrendered on favourable terms.

Duncannon made a more glorious defence. Colonel Edward Wogan was the commander of the intrepid garrison, and, being aided by Lord Castlehaven, made so vigorous a sally, that the enemy raised the siege and returned to Ross.

In the mean time Cork, Youghal, and other places in Munster, which were garrisoned by Englishmen, declared in favour of Cromwell; Kilkenny also, after a noble defence, surrendered to him on favourable terms.

Fluxes and contageous diseases broke out amongst Cromwell's soldiers, who were perishing in great numbers when he gained possession of the Munster garrisons, which afforded comfortable accommodation for his distempered troops.

The last expedition of Cromwell in Ireland

was against Clonmel, which was defended by sixteen hundred Ulstermen, under the command of Major-General Sir Hugh O'Nial *Ruadh* (the red haired). Cromwell having effected a breach, contrary to the advice of his council directed an assault, which was repulsed with a loss of two thousand five hundred men; but O'Nial, finding that his powder was exhausted, crossed the river by night, and withdrew his troops, and the town capitulated on favourable terms before the enemy knew of his departure. During this siege Cromwell received orders to return to England, and embarked at Youghal on the 29th May, 1650, leaving the army under the command of Ireton.

The defection of the Munster garrisons, and the fatal refusal of the towns to receive his troops for their defence, or to afford them winter quarters, obliged Lord Ormonde to disband his army, whereupon he named Lord Clanricarde, then a popular nobleman, his deputy, and sailed for France on the fifth of September, 1650.

A great part of Ireland was still unsubdued; Connaught, Limerick, Waterford, and Galway, were in the possession of the Celtic race, but they were disunited, and, therfore, powerless.

After the death of General O'Nial, the Roman Catholics of Ulster appointed M'Mahon, bishop of Clogher, general of their forces. He was daring and heroic, but wholly unacquainted with military affairs, and rashly led his undisciplined troops against Sir Charles Coote, with whom he fought a sanguinary battle near Letterkenny, in which he was defeated and made prisoner, and he was afterwards hanged, by an order of the English parliament.

In 1651, Ireton commenced his campaign by besieging Limerick, having failed to take it in the preceding year. It was vigorously defended by Hugh O'Nial, the gallant defender of Clonmel; but there was disaffection amongst the magistrates and citizens, and even amongst the officers of the garrison, and the rabble caught the flame, opened the gates, and admitted Ireton's troops on conditions. The garrison was allowed to lay down their arms, and march out unmolested, and the citizens to remove their effects; twenty-four persons were exempted. O'Brien, the Roman Catholic bishop of Emly, was hanged, and several persons of distinction shared the same fate: but Ireton did not long survive his cruelties; he caught an infection

then prevalent in the country, of which he died.

Fleetwood got the command of the army, and married Ireton's widow, which secured him the support of Cromwell. Ludlow, Jones, Corbet, and Weaver, all zealous republicans, were united with him in the civil government of Ireland, under the name of parliamentary commissioners. They now declared that the rebellion was suppressed, and the war ended.

Lord Broghil, afterwards Lord Orrery, proposed, at a council of war of the chief commanders, that the whole kingdom should be surveyed, and the number of acres, and the quality of each, taken, and that the soldiers should receive sufficient land to discharge their arrears of pay. The proposal was adopted by parliament: all Ireland was surveyed and valued; the best land rated at four shillings an acre, and some at a penny an acre. Great abuses were committed in setting out the satisfaction for adventurers of money, (as they were denominated,) being persons who advanced money at the commencement of the war in expectation of getting forfeited estates. They had whole baronies assigned to them, employed their own surveyors, and represented what they

chose as unprofitable land, which was thrown in gratis. The unprofitable acres, so included, amounted to six hundred and five thousand six hundred and seventy. In this manner the whole kingdom was divided between soldiers and adventurers of money.

Lord Antrim's estates, containing one hundred and seven thousand six hundred and eleven acres, was granted to Sir John Clotworthy, afterwards Lord Massareen, for demands amounting only to £7,000.

There was a portion of Connaught, which amounted to nearly one half of the province, which had become almost desolate; to this unpropitious wilderness, Cromwell and his council consigned the Irish. Those barren lands were assigned to them in portions scarcely sufficient for their subsistence. To those from whom they had taken considerable possessions elsewhere they assigned somewhat more, upon their executing releases of their former possessions.

All these matters were arranged, and adjudged in the courts of claims established at Dublin and Athlone. Many estates were restored to claimants in Connaught, which had been wrongfully seized and confiscated, on

proof of the innocence of the claimant or forfeiting party.*

Cromwell, in the year 1654, having some suspicion of the fidelity of the commissioners associated with Fleetwood in the government of Ireland, appointed Fleetwood lord deputy, assigning him a new council to assist in the administration of the government. Henry Cromwell was afterwards appointed in his place, and on the death of Oliver Cromwell, his son Richard appointed Henry lord lieutenant; and, after the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the affairs of Ireland were administered by a council of officers.

In the year 1660 Charles II. was restored to

* It appears, from the book of survey and distribution, that the lands of *Beagh* and *Cloonycarny*, which were forfeited by Captain Bryan O'Connor of *Corrasduna*, (one of the sons of Sir Hugh O'Connor of Ballintubber Castle, county Roscommon,) the grandfather of Owen O'Connor of *Corrasduna*, and ancestor of the several families descended from him, now resident in the county Roscommon, were, in the year 1655, on the petition of Roderic O'Connor, (who claimed them as the estates of his ancestors,) the son of Captain Bryan O'Connor, decreed by the Court of Claims at Athlone, to his widow Mary O'Connor, (daughter of Hugh Mergagh O'Connor *Ruadh*, of Castleruby, county Roscommon,) during her life, with reversion to her said son, Roderic O'Connor, and his heirs for ever.

the throne of his ancestors, and the first important measure of his reign, as regarded Ireland, was the adjustment of the claims of the adventurers, and soldiers, and numerous claimants of forfeited lands in Ireland. A court of claims was established at Dublin for these purposes, but was too limited in its duration, and when the time expired, seven thousand cases of claims of forfeited estates remained unheard.

Lord Clarendon, then prime minister, who conceived that it would be dangerous to disturb so many titles, and who uniformly opposed the restoration of forfeited estates as impolitic, refused to extend the time; and, to close the door effectually against the seven thousand unfortunate claimants, procured an act of parliament, declaring that there should be no future proceedings for the recovery or restoration of them.

Charles II. paid great attention to all the discussions on those topics in his privy council, and published a *declaration* for the settlement of Ireland, which deserves notice, and is thus given by Dr. Leland:

"In the first place, the adventurers were confirmed in the lands possessed by them on the 7th day of May, 1659, agreeably to the

acts of parliament of the 17th and 18th of Charles I., and all their deficiencies were to be satisfied before the ensuing month of May. These lands were to be held in free and common soccage.

"In the next place, the king confirmed to the soldiers the lands allotted for their pay, (to be held by knight service *in capite*,) with an exception of church-lands, of estates procured by fraudulent means, and of lands possessed by those who were excepted in the act of oblivion and indemnity, or any other who, since the restoration, had endeavoured to disturb the public peace, or manifested an aversion to the royal government.

"Officers who had served before the month of June, 1649, and had not received lands for their pay, were to be satisfied by estates, houses, and other securities allotted for this purpose; from these they were to receive immediate satisfaction of twelve shillings and sixpence in the pound of their arrears, and an equal dividend of whatever should remain of their security.

"Protestants, whose estates had been given to adventurers, or soldiers, were to be restored, unless they had been in rebellion before the

cessation, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare. The persons thus removed were to be reprised, without being accountable for *mesne* profits.

"Innocent papists, although they had taken lands in Connaught, were to be restored to their estates, and the persons thus removed to be reprised. If they had sold their Connaught lands, they were to satisfy the purchasers.

"But as the modelling of corporations seemed essential to the security of government, and as it was a point determined that they should be formed entirely of English inhabitants, there was an exception inserted in this article:

"Those innocent papists, whose estates formerly lay within corporate towns, instead of being restored to their possessions, were to be reprised in the neighbourhood.

"Papists who submitted, and adhered to the peace of 1648, if they stayed at home, sued out decrees, and received lands in Connaught, were to be bound thereby, and not relieved from their own acts.

"Those who had served abroad under the king's ensigns, and accepted no lands in Connaught, were to be restored to their old possessions, but not till the adventurers, or

soldiers, who now enjoyed them, should be reprised or satisfied for their disbursements."

The English parliament had already restored Lord Ormonde, Lord Inchiquin, and some others to their estates, and thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry were named as objects of the king's peculiar favour.

The duke of Ormonde was now appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. Charles II. considered that there were lands sufficient to carry out the arrangement directed by his *declaration of settlement*, but was undeceived; and as he treated the settlement as a matter of policy, rather than as a matter of justice to the parties, he willingly agreed that any loss arising upon the insufficiency of the lands to be distributed should fall on the Irish, whose properties he was so unceremoniously dividing.

The duke was well received in Ireland, and the Irish parliament voted him £30,000, and his son, Lord Ossory, was called to the upper house. The act of settlement was then passed, and as some of its provisions might require modification in the administration of such complicated affairs, power was reserved to the lord lieutenant and council to give such further instructions to the commissioners appointed to

carry out the measure as might be deemed requisite. These matters were referred to English commissioners, who sat in the courts of claims already mentioned.

The duke of Ormonde being required by the king to assist in his council, he appointed his son, Lord Ossory, to act as deputy during his absence, and sailed for England.

The value of land had fallen considerably in England, and the enemies of the duke of Ormonde, wishing to embarrass him in the administration of the Irish government, and to impair his popularity by the introduction of injurious measures, brought in a bill, in the year 1665, to prevent the importation of cattle from Ireland; pretending to believe that the importation of cattle from Ireland was one of the causes of the distressed state of the country. Experience had already proved the measure was injurious, but it was now insisted on for party purposes. In the preamble of the bill, the importation of cattle was declared to be a *nuisance*; the lords substituted the words *detriment and mischief*. A conference took place between the committees of both houses, when Ashley, affecting moderation, proposed the words *felony* or *premunire*, and the chancellor

suggested it might as well be declared *adultery*. They could not agree, and the debate in the lords became more than usually violent: the duke of Buckingham exclaimed, that "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates, or Irish understandings," and Lord Ossory, feeling that all this rancour was levelled at the duke of Ormonde, his father, challenged the duke of Buckingham to fight a duel, and the duke having complained to the house, Ossory was sent to cool himself in the Tower.

The commons were, however, determined to have the importation of Irish cattle not only prohibited, but declared to be a *nuisance*, and sent up their rejected bill with their grant of supplies, in which company it was better received and became law. The measure created great dissatisfaction and confusion in Ireland, and was ruinous to their trade. The king, to make amends, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, and prohibited the importation of linen and woollen manufactured goods from Scotland, in favour of Ireland.

There were numerous petitions from Ireland for a measure in support of the act of settle-

ment, and the protection of titles under it, and much clamour against the indulgence shown to Roman Catholics, who had the hatred of a plundered race upon them. Charles II. was suspected of favouring them, and the influence of the duke of York, whose disposition was well known, was greatly dreaded by the Irish Protestants.

The duke of Ormonde, who had been recently recalled, was again entrusted with the government of Ireland, and found the army in a deplorable state, ill paid, and undisciplined. He endeavoured to improve its condition, and to render it respectable and efficient. For this purpose supplies were absolutely necessary, and other matters rendered it desirable to summon a parliament, but the sudden announcement, in England, of what was called "the popish plot," arrested the progress of all useful measures.

It was said to have extended to Ireland. Officers and soldiers were ordered to their garrisons, popish ecclesiastics were forced to depart from the kingdom, popish seminaries and convents were suppressed, and Roman Catholics were ordered to deposit their arms in the king's stores. Warrants were sent over to arrest

Richard Talbot, Lord Mountgarret and his son, and Colonel Peppard.

Lord Mountgarret was eighty years of age, bed-ridden, and in a state of dotage, and there was no such person as Colonel Peppard, and nothing to warrant the detention of Richard Talbot, who gave security for his conduct, and for his own security left the kingdom. The Protestants were alarmed, and, without any real ground of apprehension, sought extreme measures against the Roman Catholics, which, if granted, might have occasioned ruinous consequences, as, according to Sir William Petty's calculations, the Roman Catholics were then fifteen to one against the Protestants throughout Ireland, and were indispensably necessary to the existence of the Protestants, as constituting the industrious portion of the community. The duke of Ormonde acted with the greatest judgment and discretion at this critical period; nevertheless, numerous complaints were made against him by those officious alarmists, but they produced no injurious effect, and, after some cruel and unjustifiable prosecutions, the "popish plot" turned out to be a wicked fiction.

A commission was now formed by the duke

of York, nominally to remedy defects in Irish titles, but in reality to ascertain how they could be defeated, in order to evict the Protestants, and restore the estates to the Roman Catholics, from whom they had been unlawfully taken, and unscrupulously usurped.

Richard Talbot now returned from exile, and, being in the confidence of the duke of York, represented that it was necessary to reform the council, magistracy, and army, in Ireland, and it was in contemplation to recall the duke of Ormonde, and to appoint Lord Rochester in his place, and to entrust those important reforms to Richard Talbot, as lieutenant general, when the death of Charles II., A.D. 1684, interrupted the progress of those arrangements, and the duke of York ascended the throne as James II.

Before we enter on the subject of the Jacobite and Williamite wars, we deem it necessary to take a rapid glance at the proceedings of James II. previous to his landing at Kinsale, and the deplorable condition of the country under his sway.

His first step was to remove the duke of Ormonde from the government of Ireland, which he did under the courteous affectation of consideration for his age and infirmities, but in

reality to get rid of his inflexible honesty, and substitute less scrupulous persons in his important office. Boyle, bishop of Cork, and Lord Granard, who was induced to accept of the appointment by the king's assurance that nothing injurious to the Protestants was intended, were named lords justices, and entrusted with the Irish government.

The next step taken towards the accomplishment of James's contemplated reforms, was disarming the militia raised and organised by the duke of Ormonde; their arms were ordered to be deposited in the king's store, as if for safe custody merely, by which the true motive was partially concealed, and the lords justices carried out the order without creating either opposition or discontent. They were then removed, and Lord Clarendon became lord lieutenant.

Richard Talbot, already mentioned, a profligate and unprincipled Irishman, who professed to be a Roman Catholic, and ingratiated himself with Charles II. and James II. in their exile, who at one time offered to assassinate Cromwell, and at another to assassinate the duke of Ormonde, was appointed colonel of an Irish regiment, created earl of Tirconnell, and after-

wards got the command of the army; and the military returns were speedily commenced. Three Protestant judges were unceremoniously deprived of their seats in the Irish bench without any assignable cause, and three Roman Catholic lawyers, Nugent, Daly, and Rice, were appointed in their places. Lord Clarendon remonstrated that their admission to such offices without taking the oath of supremacy was illegal, but James who considered it his prerogative to over-rule legal objections, paid no attention to such suggestions.

Again, the Protestant archbishoprick of Cashel became vacant, and James refused to fill up the vacancy, and received the revenues of the see for the support of Roman Catholic bishops.

These were sufficiently intelligible indications of his real sentiments and intentions to turn the brains of Tyrconnel, who, in his vanity and indiscretion, denounced the act of settlement as iniquitous, and issued an order that in future none but Roman Catholics should be received in the army. Lord Clarendon remonstrated against this order, and Tyrconnell denied its existence, but Lord Roscommon and some other officers declared they had received the

order from Tirconnell. Lord Clarendon, as might be expected, was recalled, and Tirconnell procured the appointment for himself, by bribing Lord Sunderland, then James's prime minister; and his appointment was naturally hailed by the Roman Catholics with the greatest joy, as the victory of their avowed champion.

Tirconnell was now in a position to proceed without control in his intended reforms. The corporate bodies were not constructed according to his taste, and he called on the corporation of Dublin to resign its charter. The corporation appealed to the king for protection, but without effect; a *quo warranto* was issued, and judgment obtained against the corporation, as a matter of course, from corrupt and subservient judges. Other charters were cancelled in the same unscrupulous manner, and care was taken to introduce suitable persons in James's new charters. Thus the corporations were reformed.

Trinity College could not long escape: the governors of the college had been previously commanded, by a royal mandate, to admit a person named Green as professor of the Irish language, on a supposed vacancy, but Green

had been misinformed, there was no such professorship, and, of course, no vacancy to fill up, so the matter dropped. The governors were then required, by another royal mandate, to admit a person named Doyle, as a fellow, on his merely taking the oath prescribed for fellows, but it was found that the prescribed oath contained the oath of supremacy, which Doyle refused to take, and Tirconnell was so enraged at the unexpected failure, that he stopped the pension allowed to the college at the exchequer! But the college could not resist the power of Tirconnell: the fellows and students were forcibly ejected, the property of the members, the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community seized, their chapel converted to a magazine, and their chambers to prisons, and the members of the society only obtained their personal liberty by the intercession of the bishop of Meath, on the express condition that three of them should not meet together on pain of death.*

Thus the army, the courts of justice, and the corporations, were given over to the Roman Catholics, and they took possession of the

* Leland's "History of Ireland," vol. iii.

churches, and refused to restore them, even when ordered to do so by king James.

Tirconnell now considered that he might summon a parliament sufficiently servile to pass any measure he proposed, and he accordingly prepared the heads of a bill to repeal the act of settlement, and leave a considerable portion of the country at the disposal of the crown. It was forwarded to James II. for his approval, and was by him submitted to his privy council with a favourable recommendation. Sunderland, however, thought it too violent a measure, and it was rejected; at the same time Sunderland declared that he was offered £40,000 to support the bill.

The country was now thrown into great confusion by a mischievous and unjustifiable report that the Protestants were all to be assassinated on a certain day; many timid persons fled to England for refuge, others flocked into towns inhabited by Protestants, for protection.

Matters were in this state, when Tirconnell injudiciously withdrew Lord Mountjoy's regiment from Derry, leaving that important city in the possession of its Protestant inhabitants, and under the excitement produced by the alarming reports in circulation; and now sent

Lord Antrim's regiment, consisting chiefly of Roman Catholics, to take its place. The Protestants were alarmed; Lord Antrim's regiment was approaching the town, and, while the citizens were discussing the subject, nine young men snatched up the keys, raised the drawbridge, locked the ferry-gate, and decided the question. They were sustained by the populace, and all determined on a vigorous defence against Lord Antrim's papists.

Enniskillen followed their example, and refused to admit Roman Catholic soldiers. In the several counties of Down, Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, and Monaghan, the Protestants took the alarm, rose in arms, and formed an association to defend themselves against the threatened massacre.

A general council was held at Hillsborough, where officers were appointed, and instructions given to regulate and sanction their proceedings. All this was done under the alarm and excitement of a false report, apparently sustained by the reckless conduct and ill-concerted measures of Tirconnell, and the general suspicion of his motives.

Such was the condition of the country when James II. landed at Kinsale, witb twelve hun-

dred of his own subjects, who had been in the French service, under the command of General Rosen, a German officer of some experience.

Tirconnell attended King James at Cork, where he was at once created duke of Tirconnell. His majesty then marched to Dublin, where he made a triumphal entry, and was attended by Monsieur Le Comte D'Avaux, as ambassador of France. The Roman Catholic clergy bore the host before him, after the continental fashion, in solemn procession, and he was received by the Roman Catholics of Dublin with the most flattering manifestations of Irish loyalty.

It cannot be matter of surprise that James was received by the plundered Roman Catholics of Ireland with joy and exultation, and that they were ready to make a life and death struggle in his cause; from him they expected the free exercise of their religion, and the restoration of their estates, which they never lost sight of, as the unjustly usurped possessions of their forefathers. James was, therefore, everything to the Irish; through him they sought to recover their rights and to avenge their wrongs, and if James had but the means of arming and supporting the myriads who flocked

to his banner, the prince of Orange and his fine disciplined troops would have been driven headlong into the sea, by men like those, who, under most unpropitious circumstances, drove them from the walls of Limerick into their camp, to receive the bitter rebuke of their disappointed general.

In England, James had trampled on the rights and liberties of the great and overwhelming majority of his subjects, overturned the administration of justice, and governed with despotic tyranny, leaving no hope but in his speedy dethronement.

William, prince of Orange, became the supporter of the civil and religious freedom of the English, and their countrymen in Ireland had an additional motive for supporting him against James, in defence of their estates and possessions.

In the mean time the citizens of Derry appointed two generals to command their troops, consisting of seven thousand and twenty men, and three hundred and forty-one officers, namely, the Rev. George Walker and Major Baker, and they had forty guns mounted on their walls. Rosen was sent to besiege Derry, which was bravely defended until they received relief from England.

Louis XIV., who dreaded the success of William, and had his own motives for trying to maintain James, was too parsimonious in his assistance. Instead of sending a well-disciplined army, under able commanders, to maintain the war with spirit and decision, he only gave James troops in exchange, got the flower of the Irish army, and sent him raw, undisciplined recruits, which were useless, and refused to fight at the Boyne. On the seventh of April, 1690, Chateau Renard's fleet transported five thousand well trained Irish soldiers from Kinsale, and landed them at Brest. They were commanded by Lord Mountcashel, joined the French army under St. Ruth, and took a distinguished part in his glorious victories. Lord Mountcashel led his regiment against the Piedmontese, put them to flight, killed their general, Monsieur de Sallis, and was himself dangerously wounded.*

James now marched to Derry, and having unwisely rejected the terms on which General Hamilton was offered a surrender, directed him to carry on the siege. The citizens were insufficiently supplied with provisions, and

* De Quincy, vol. ii.

suffered extreme distress from famine and its attendant diseases; but the gallant defenders of Derry, notwithstanding their privations and suffering, made numerous successful sallies, and fought with invincible courage and determination, and James's troops received them with great firmness. The royal army was also much harassed by a strong force collected in the neighbourhood of Enniskillen, under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, a bold and enterprising leader, who had proclaimed William and Mary throughout the north. Lord Galmoy undertook to disperse them, and invested Crom castle, a place of considerable strength; and finding that he could not get up his heavy guns to a sufficient height to command the castle, he formed an ingenious scheme to intimidate the garrison: he brought up two sham guns made of tin, and having placed them in position, demanded a surrender, but the brave garrison set him at defiance, and having received a reinforcement from Enniskillen, sallied forth, drove him from his intrenchments, and captured his sham guns, which brought great ridicule on his lordship's manœuvres.

On his march, Lord Galmoy made prisoners of two young men who had commissions from

the prince of Orange, and agreed to exchange them for one of his officers; the officer was accordingly released, but the young men were cruelly executed.

The Protestant forces, under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, became so formidable, that three armies were employed to reduce them. M'Carehy, who was encamped at Belturbet with seven thousand men; Sarsfield, who led a strong force from Connaught; and Berwick, who led another army from the north, were all sent on this important service. Hamilton contrived to surprise Sarsfield's troops in their camp, and put them to flight with considerable slaughter. On the approach of Hamilton, Berwick retired, and he fought a celebrated battle with M'Carthy near Newtown Butler, and, with inferior numbers, gained a signal victory: two thousand of M'Carthy's soldiers were slain, and five hundred of them driven into Lough Erne. On the news of this heroic victory, General Hamilton raised the siege of Derry, which had lasted seventy-three days, and the city could not have been defended much longer, as the inhabitants were worn out by famine and disease.

While matters were thus progressing, James had returned to Dublin, and held a parliament,

which he opened with a royal speech, in which he disclosed some of his intended policy. He stated his willingness to relieve those who were injured by the act of settlement, as far as might be consistent with reason and justice, and public faith. The commons understood the value of those conditions, and received a bill for the actual repeal of the act of settlement with acclamation and shouts of delight. James, who was playing his cards to win both his English and Irish subjects, professed to disapprove of so wholesale a measure; but the French ambassador, who exercised unlimited control over James, approved of the bill, which was passed, and contained a statement exculpating the Irish from all criminality in the rebellion of 1641. The next step was pretty much in the same direction—a bill of attainder, by which two thousand persons were attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture of their estates. Nagle, on presenting the bill, declared that many were attainted on such evidence as satisfied the house, and the rest on common fame!*

This parliament granted James a monthly

* Leland.

subsidy of £20,000 from landed property, and he imposed a similar subsidy of £20,000 on personal chattels, without the concurrence of parliament; such was the facility with which James dealt with legal forms, and the rights of his unhappy subjects. But his great financial measure was the establishing of mints at Dublin and Limerick, and the coinage of brass and copper, and afterwards of tin money, by which from a pound weight of those vile materials, pieces were coined of the nominal value of five pounds, which were ordered to be received in all payments, and forced upon the public.

General Hamilton now led his army towards Dublin to oppose the duke of Schomberg, who it was expected would land on the eastern coast, in that direction; but he landed at Carrickfergus, with an army consisting of twelve thousand men, chiefly composed of hastily raised and imperfectly trained troops. The best of them were French Protestant exiles, and they were disaffected, and detected in private communication with D'Avaux: some were hanged, and a considerable number of them were sent in chains to England.*

* Macaulay's "History of England."

James now marched towards the north, reached Drogheda, and found that the duke of Schomberg was encamped near Dundalk. He then led his troops to the village of Alphene, and encamped in the presence of the enemy, with only a bog and a small river between the two armies.

Tirconnell, Rosen, and other officers of James's council, urged him to attack Schomberg, whose army was weakened and reduced by a wasting disease, but James could not be prevailed upon to assume the offensive, and thus lost a favourable opportunity of defeating the enemy, and of gaining a victory which would have changed the aspect of his affairs, and have secured the confidence, sympathies, and liberal supplies of France. It was on this memorable instance of James's cowardice, and want of determination, that Rosen exclaimed, "Sire, eussiez-vous cent royaumes vous les perdriez."

The royal army, after James's pusillanimous display, decamped in the month of October, and went into winter quarters, and Schomberg, released from his perilous position, broke up his camp, and retired to Ulster. His forces were reduced to five thousand effective men, with a long train of the sick and dying.

He formed his head quarters at Hilsborough, having lost one-half of his army without fighting a single battle. Schomberg devoted his whole time and attention to training and drilling his raw recruits, many of whom were unacquainted with the use of arms. He was also badly supplied with provisions: by a corrupt and inefficient commissariat, which increased the suffering of his army, they were in want of those requisite comforts on which the health of an army so much depends.

Louis XIV. sent James seven battalions, under the command of M. Le Comte de Lausun, a person destitute of military knowledge or experience, and not equal to the command of such an army, more especially as the troops were newly raised conscripts, and required much training to render them efficient. They were far inferior to Lord Mountcashel's brigade, which Louis got in exchange for them.

William, prince of Orange, landed at Carrickfergus on the fourteenth of June, 1690, with a powerful army, well supplied with artillery, and supplied with all the requirements necessary for his important expedition; he brought with him £200,000, and a large supply of provisions. He at once proceeded to Belfast, had

a conference with Schomberg, and was warmly received and welcomed by public manifestations of joy and respect. While at Belfast he authorised the collector of customs to pay twelve hundred pounds annually to some of the principal ministers of Down and Antrim, as trustees for their brothers, which is still continued to the Presbyterians of Ulster.*

Soon after the landing of William, James appointed Luttrel, a cruel bigot, governor of Dublin, and led six thousand French troops to join his forces. He took up his position on the hill of Donore, while his army encamped on the southern banks of the river Boyne. His council recommended him to retire to Athlone on the Shannon, and to carry on a desultory war, and decline a general engagement, for which he was not as yet adequately prepared. This would have afforded him time to raise and train his forces, which were undisciplined recruits, and not the hundredth part of what might be collected if proper measures were adopted; but Tirconnell, ever reckless, and over sanguine in his expectations of success, urged James to risk

* Dr. Reid's "History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland."

a general engagement, and he resolved on doing so without further delay.

James had about thirty thousand men, and William about thirty-six thousand. William encamped on the northern banks of the river, opposite James's army, on the thirtieth of June, 1690.

The Rev. George Walker, who had distinguished himself so much at the celebrated siege of Derry, accompanied the Ulstermen, and exhorted them to exterminate their enemies. He was then bishop of Derry.

William rode along the river, accompanied by Prince George of Hesse, and some distinguished officers, to reconnoitre the enemy, and on reaching the bank opposite Oldbridge, where the river is fordable, he alighted, and sat down to breakfast. They could easily distinguish the persons on the opposite side of the river: Tirconnell, Berwick, Sarsfield, and Lausun were there. They very adroitly brought up two guns, under the concealment of some cavalry, and got them in position. William got on horseback. They fired: the first shot killed a man and two horses; the second grazed William on the shoulder, and wounded him slightly. The report that he was killed was immediately cir-

culated through the army, and he rode through the ranks to announce his safety, and quiet their alarms.

On that night he reviewed his troops by torch-light, and gave the necessary order to force a passage across the Boyne on the following morning.

On the first of July, William sent Schomberg's son to cross at the bridge of Slane, and turn the left wing of James's army. Sir Neal O'Neil guarded the bridge with his dragoons, where he was mortally wounded; after a sharp conflict, his men fled, and the English crossed the river. Lausun marched to meet them with the French infantry and Sarsfield's horse, and the Irish guarded the ford at Oldbridge. William and his cavalry prepared to pass through the river nearer to Drogheda, and the centre of his army, consisting of infantry under the duke of Schomberg, were opposite the ford of Oldbridge. They dashed into the river with such impetuosity, wading across, up to their arm-pits in the water, that the Irish fled in a panic, and flung away their muskets without firing a shot!

Richard Hamilton, at the head of the cavalry, made a gallant but fruitless effort to rally them, and repel the enemy. Schomberg rode across

the ford, rallying the French exiles, who lost their leader, and Bishop Walker stimulated and encouraged the Ulstermen. Both fell in this short encounter.

James, who saw his troops beaten, was overwhelmed with grief, disappointment, and alarm, and, at the instance of Tirconnell—the evil genius of the Boyne—who now urged him to look to his personal safety, he at once fled to Dublin, where he assembled a council, at which he heaped imputations on his Irish army, which, for want of training, discipline, and efficient commanders, yielded to the impetuous charge of the enemy; and being advised by his council to return to France, he continued his flight to Waterford with the utmost trepidation, breaking down the bridges over which he passed, though unpursued by the enemy. At Waterford he hastily embarked to seek refuge from Louis, who received him coldly, and never after treated him with respect.

The duke of Tirconnell, who now took the command of James's scattered forces, mustered them as well as he could at Limerick; garrisoned Cork, Kinsale, and Athlone; and made what preparation he could to recover from the disgrace of the Boyne. The greater part of the

French troops marched to Kinsale, and embarked for France. Lausun, who accompanied Tirconnell to Limerick, on examining the defences of the place, condemned them as untenable, exclaiming with an oath, "Que son maitre, prendrait cette place avec des pommes cuites," and proceeded with the remainder of his troops to Galway.

Tirconnell appointed Monsieur Boisseleau, a captain of the French guards, to command the garrison, and William, who soon arrived, demanded a surrender, which being refused, he sent for his heavy siege artillery, to commence operations, and which he expected would make short work of the siege. Colonel Sarsfield, having received information that the artillery was *en route* under a strong convoy, crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, at the head of five hundred horse, and by forced marches intercepted them at Cullin, where he put the convoy to the sword, spiked the cannon, broke up a number of copper boats intended to construct a bridge over the Shannon, and blew up the remainder with the powder taken from the convoy. Sarsfield then returned to his camp, having frustrated the prince's design, and saved Limerick from inevitable destruction.

William proceeded with the siege, and having effected a breach, ordered an assault with six thousand men, sustained by as many more. They were repulsed with very considerable loss, the breach was widened, and a second assault was made with still less success; his troops were not only repulsed, but actually driven like sheep into their camp. William rebuked his troops bitterly, and, after fourteen days, raised the siege, withdrew to Waterford, and embarked for England, leaving the command of the army to Baron de Ginckle, who marched the troops to Birr.

Lord Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, was sent to Ireland with a strong force to reduce Cork and Kinsale. The governor of Cork was directed by the duke of Berwick to burn the fortifications, and withdraw his troops, but he disregarded the order, fought it out, and was compelled to surrender at discretion. The officers were sent to England, and inhumanly treated; most of them died in prison, where the dead were allowed to accumulate, and left unburied until a large number could be interred together, which poisoned the atmosphere, and destroyed the survivors.

Kinsale made a better defence and, after

some days' fighting, surrendered, obtaining favourable terms, and the troops were permitted to march to Limerick with their arms and baggage.

Tirconnell, Lausun, and Boisseleau now sailed for France, in search of further aid to carry on the Irish war more effectually, and left the duke of Berwick in command of the army during their absence.

The acknowledged bravery and determination of the Irish in their gallant defence of Limerick, raised the character of their army, and excited the sympathies of France in their favour. Monsieur Le Comte de St. Ruth, who had just returned from his glorious campaigns in Savoy, and had witnessed the indomitable courage of the Irish in Lord Mountcashel's brigade, now, with Monsieur le Chevalier de Tesse, accompanied Tirconnell to Ireland, to assume the command of the Irish army. They arrived with forty French transports laden with officers, men, artillery, and military stores of various sorts.*

Baron de Ginckle commenced the campaign of 1691 by taking the small and untenable fort

* Quincy, vol. ii.

of Ballymore, near Mullingar, which had been built for temporary accommodation, and not intended for permanent occupation, and which was injudiciously garrisoned with eight hundred men, under Ulick Burke. They were compelled to surrender, and the men, who were made prisoners, were a serious loss to the Irish army.

From Ballymore, De Ginckle marched to Athlone, an important place on the Shannon; the English town (being the portion of the town on the eastern bank of the river) was slightly defended, and connected by a narrow bridge with the Irish town (being the portion of the town on the western bank of the river). St. Ruth sent a considerable force to Athlone, which was encamped on the Connaught side of the Shannon; De Ginckle made a practicable breach in the English town, which was defended by only two hundred men, the assaulting force amounting to four thousand. The Irish fought till half of them were slain, and the remainder took possession of the bridge, and defended it until two of the arches were broken down, when few of them remained. The enemy threw planks across the broken arches to gain a passage across the Shannon,

and ten men were sent to remove them, and cast them into the river. They were clothed in armour, and rushed on the bridge, but were instantly swept away by a shower of grapeshot. Ten more, prepared in a similar manner, took their places, and succeeded in removing the planks, but only two of them survived their courageous and gallant exploit.

St. Ruth, who was at Ballinasloe collecting and reviewing his troops, when he heard that the English town was taken, hastened with additional troops to Athlone, and encamped outside the Irish town. He appointed D'Usson governor of the town. But Athlone could not be maintained against the overwhelming power of the English artillery, incessantly thundering their heavy metal against its crumbling walls, which were approachable by so many fords on the Shannon.

The English army having crossed the river in presence of the enemy, the town was carried by assault on the tenth of July, in which the Irish lost one thousand men, and the English took three hundred prisoners.

St. Ruth now led his army to Ballinasloe, and proposed retiring to Limerick, but the Irish clamoured for a general battle. He selected a

position which secured a safe retreat to Limerick in case of disaster, and encamped at Aughrim.

The castle of Aughrim is situated at the head of a causeway, through which alone the enemy could pass, and thus it protected his front; on the other side it was skirted by a bog, with a river running through it, and a deep morass scarcely passable. Six thousand of the Connaught levies deserted on the eve of the engagement, and returned to their homes. The Irish army consisted of eleven thousand infantry, and five thousand horse, well disciplined, and ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their country and religion.

On the twelfth of July, 1691, the English army appeared in view of the camp, approaching steadily in great force. The battle soon commenced, and was well contested on both sides; after some hours' fighting, the Irish were considered to have had the best of the conflict, their wings were firm, and their centre victorious. The English horse carried the causeway, the posts in defence of it at the castle having been left without ammunition; by an unaccountable mistake they received cannon balls instead of bullets, and the English infantry contrived to

pass the morass with hurdles, and were forming in front of the Irish left wing. St. Ruth at this critical moment gallopped down the hill at the head of his cavalry, to repel the English cavalry, exclaiming that the English were beaten, and while throwing up his hat in extacy at his success, was cut in two by a cannon ball. D'Usson and De Tesse, who were next in command, were wholly ignorant of the fatal event. The Irish cavalry received no orders, were confused, seized with a panic, and fled—taking the road to Loughrea. The alarm spread, the infantry gave way, and took flight in different directions—some to the bog, to escape the cavalry, who gave no quarter.

The Irish lost four thousand men, and four hundred and fifty prisoners; amongst whom were many distinguished gentlemen of rank and fortune, who thus fell into the hands of the enemy. Quincy speaks highly of the conduct and valour of the Irish, and the abilities of St. Ruth.*

* "Les Irlandais dont l'infanterie avait fait des marvelles perdirent dans cette occasion environ trois ou quatre mille hommes. M. de St. Ruth y fut tuè d'un bullet de cannon apres avoir donnè toutes les marques d'un grand homme et d'une grande capacite"

The English lost two thousand seven hundred men.

De Ginckle proceeded to Galway, where the town was treacherously surrendered, at the instance of some influential noblemen and gentlemen, who were more anxious to save their estates than to defend their country.

Tirconnell, who in the mean time devoted his entire attention to repairing the fortifications of Limerick, and strengthening the town, died of apoplexy on the fourteenth of August, 1691. Mr. Matthew O'Conor tells us* that he injured James's cause by imprudent zeal, and appointed Roman Catholic sheriffs and lord lieutenants for almost every county in Ireland, many of them being paupers, without birth or education, and excluded Protestants from all power and situations of trust and emolument; yet he adds, he was not altogether devoid of conduct or moderation, as he would not deprive the Protestant clergy of their churches or livings, or admit the Catholic bishops into the house of lords.

On the death of Tirconnell, D'Usson took the command at Limerick, but Sarsfield carried

* "Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation."

out all the details with unflagging energy and promptitude. France promised large reinforcements, and the Irish still entertained sanguine expectations of ultimate success.

De Ginckle, who was systematically slow in his progress, did not open his fire on Limerick until the thirtieth of August, when it was steadily returned from the town, and several ships came up the river, and anchored within gun shot.

The siege was progressing, but the council in the English camp, and also the officers in Limerick, were each divided in their opinions. Some of the English rejected the idea of any terms of capitulation, others were more anxious, in accordance with the king's desire, to conclude the war upon such terms as could be obtained. On the other hand, there was disaffection in the city, and some private communications kept up with the camp. It was resolved to make an effort, and De Ginckle, Wirtemberg, and Scgravenmore marched with a powerful force over a bridge of boats, and assaulted the walls which covered Thomond bridge. A desperate contest ensued; the Irish were reinforced, and made a furious charge on the enemy, but were repulsed and driven back. A French major, who commanded at the bridge, fearing that the enemy

would enter the city with his own party, raised the drawbridge, and left the fugitives to the mercy of their enemies; before the carnage could be stopped, six hundred filled the bridge with their dead bodies, and above a hundred and fifty were forced into the river and drowned, and a hundred and twenty-six were made prisoners.

The Irish were exasperated at the misfortune, and attributed the conduct of the French major to treachery, and determined on seeking an accommodation and terms of capitulation from the Baron de Ginckle.

De Ginckle, who had rejected their terms as inadmissible, proposed the following terms, which were ultimately agreed upon, and duly ratified in the shape of articles, on the third of October, 1691, namely:—That all Irish Roman Catholics should enjoy the free exercise of their religion as in the reign of Charles II. That all persons included in the capitulation should enjoy their estates, and pursue their callings and professions as in the reign of Charles II. That their gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and no oath required but the oath of allegiance. That, should it be still disagreeable to any of their party to reside in Ireland on these condi-

tions, or should their army choose to engage in foreign service, that they should have free liberty, and be conveyed to the Continent at the expense of the government.

After this treaty no less than twelve thousand of the Irish troops passed over to France under the command of their own officers, who severed themselves from their relatives and friends, and abandoned their possessions and country, rather than submit to the government of William, prince of Orange, in whom they felt no confidence. They were welcomed in France by James II., and taken into the service of Louis XIV., and many of them were no doubt enthusiastic enough to look forward to an invasion of Ireland, and the reinstatement of James on the English throne. These troops, with those already in the service of Louis XIV., formed the Irish Brigade, so distinguished in the military achievements of France: but they were not treated with all the liberality they deserved; the officers were reduced in their rank, and very inadequately paid, and received no remuneration for the sacrifices they had made in the service of James II.

It appears from a memorial which was presented by Colonel Roderic O'Connor to Louis

XIV., still preserved, with his commissions and papers, in his family, that he passed over to France at the head of a regiment of infantry, and was, in 1792, reduced to the rank of captain, and was only, after several years of meritorious service, raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel at the siege of Aire; and he referred therein to the services he had rendered to James II., which were well known to the queen, his widow. It appears that Colonel Roderic O'Connor was in very active service previous to his departure from Ireland, for we find that, with a force of four hundred men under his command, he burned the town of Edenderry, and afterwards Ballybrittas.* He also forfeited the lands of *Beagh* and *Cloonycarny*, already mentioned as having been forfeited by his father, Bryan O'Connor of Corrasduna, in the rebellion of 1641, and granted to his mother for life, with reversion to him in fee;† and they were sold, as his forfeited estates, at Chichester House, Dublin, in 1703, to Colonel Henry Sandford, in trust for James Walker, in whose charge they still remain in the quit-rent office, Dublin.

* Story's "Impartial History," part ii.

† See note in page 153.

On the other hand, William III. was not disposed to conciliate the Roman Catholics, who, relying on the treaty of Limerick, remained under his sway. He sanctioned severe penal laws against them, and granted above a million and a half of acres of land, wrested from them, to his favourites and supporters. His character is given by Smollet in a few words: "A fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungenerous prince, and an imperious sovereign."

William III. was succeeded by Queen Anne, daughter of James II., who had married the Protestant prince of Denmark; and, as she owed her accession to the throne to the determination of the English to exclude her Roman Catholic brother, then styled the Pretender, she was constrained to sanction all the persecution of the Roman Catholics that their bitterest enemies could devise for the exclusion of a Roman Catholic successor, and hence severe and oppressive penal laws were freely enacted and vigorously administered during her unpropitious reign.

In the reign of George II. the Pretender landed in one of the Hebrides, and his standard was raised in Scotland; but the Irish took no part in his proceedings, and the battle of Culloden extinguished all his hopes of success. The appointment of Lord Chesterfield as lord lieutenant of Ireland was considered favourable to the Roman Catholics: his government was mild and forbearing; their chapels were reopened, and the penal laws were not offensively enforced against them; but unfortunately he was too speedily removed, and a different policy adopted by his successor.

In this reign the French made two abortive attempts to land in Ireland: one was gallantly defeated by Admiral Hawke, in the bay of Quiberon; and the other by the glorious victory gained by Captain Elliot off the Isle of Man, in which the French admiral Thurot and three hundred of his men were killed.

At the close of this reign the Roman Catholics presented a memorial to the Duke of Bedford, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, expressive of their loyalty to the Crown; and it was so well received that it encouraged them to seek relief by constitutional means, and was the origin of their proceedings in parliament, to

which we shall have occasion to refer in the course of the following reign.

George III. commenced his long and prosperous reign in 1760, but, unfortunately for the peace of Ireland, entertained the anti-Roman Catholic prejudices of his predecessors, to which he adhered with unaccountable obstinacy. Shortly after his accession to the throne, agrarian disturbances broke out in Ireland. The Whiteboys, so called from wearing a shirt over their clothes when engaged in their aggressive proceedings, now made their first appearance. They administered an oath of secresy for their mutual protection, and conspired against tithes and rent, the Protestant clergy, and the landlords; but avowed no hostility against the government, and adopted no political views or principles. They committed barbarous depredations, and were vigorously prosecuted as unlawful disturbers of the public peace. Five peasants were tried, condemned, and executed at Waterford for burning a cabin, and were convicted on the testimony of the person who in reality committed the crime himself. The difficulty of obtaining evidence during such disturbances, and an over-anxiety to make examples on such occasions, has un-

happily led to numerous cruel sacrifices. The Rev. Nicholas Sheehy was also convicted, condemned, and executed, for the supposed murder of a person named Bridges, an informer, whose body could not be discovered, upon evidence on which a jury would scarcely convict a pick-pocket in more tranquil times.

Similar disturbances broke out in the North, which were occasioned by persons calling themselves Oakboys, and Hearts-of-Steel (much mercy could scarcely be expected from them); they were also of an agrarian character, and had nothing political in them. The farmers were very generally discontented, and complained much of being unjustly compelled to keep the public roads in repair. They found remonstrance in vain, and became very determined in their opposition.

The noble resistance of America in refusing to submit to taxation by the British parliament, in which she was unrepresented, stimulated Ireland in her struggle for legislative independence; and Lord North, seeing the danger of such a claim at so critical a period, instructed the lord lieutenant to conciliate the Irish Roman Catholics by a judicious relaxation of the penal laws against them; but the ascendency of the

Protestant party in the Irish parliament rendered such a course quite impracticable, and a bill brought in for the purpose, though moderate and unexceptionable, was rejected by a large majority. Great efforts were therefore made to gain sufficient parliamentary influence to sustain the measures of government, and unusual promotion preceded the meeting of parliament. In October, 1777, five earls, seven viscounts, and eighteen barons were created, and Lord Buckingham was sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant, with instructions to relax the severity of those penal laws; but the House of Commons still persisted in refusing to grant the Roman Catholics any relief.

In the following year Lord Buckingham obtained the 17th and 18th George III., which enabled Roman Catholics, upon subscribing the oath of allegiance according to the 13th and 14th George II., to hold and dispose of leases for 999 years, and certain determinable interests, and rendered their lands descendible, alienable, and deviseable; and repealed the oppressive provisions of the 2nd Anne, whereby children on conforming to the Protestant religion acquired unjust control over the property of their Roman Catholic parents; and even this act was only

carried by a miserable majority in the Irish House of Commons, though a government measure!

It is not to be wondered at that, under such circumstances, the Roman Catholics should be discontented, and the country in an unsatisfactory condition, while the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants were deprived of their civil rights, and held in a state of humiliating bondage. Associations were formed to prevent the importation of British commodities, until the British restrictions on the trade of Ireland should be removed.

The system of volunteering now commenced, and soon created a power which England was unable to contend with or control, and to which her ministry were forced to yield. On the meeting of the Irish parliament in 1779, Sergeant Hussy Burgh moved as an amendment to the address to the Crown, "that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade *alone*, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin," which was unanimously adopted.

Ireland was now wholly unprotected. The troops were all drawn off to serve in America, and the government, having no other mode of defending the country, was constrained to de

liver arms to the Irish Volunteers, who soon formed a powerful force of some thirty thousand men, consisting of the nobility, gentry, citizens, and yeomanry, equipped for self-defence, and acting entirely on their own authority. The people, feeling their strength, assembled in a tumultuous manner to overawe the parliament, demanded a declaration in favour of free trade, and a vote of thanks for the Volunteers; and the parliament, under the excitement that prevailed, refused to grant supplies to the government. Lord North, alarmed at the hostile attitude of the Irish, and conscious of his inability to deal with such formidable resistance, agreed to allow Ireland the free exportation of her wool, woollens, and glass manufactures, for which a bill was prepared and passed; but the Volunteers, now assuming a political character, demanded the constitutional rights of Ireland, and in 1780 declared Ireland an independent kingdom, entitled to a free constitution, and that the king, lords, and commons of Ireland could *alone* make laws to bind her people; and in February, 1782, they held their great meeting at Dungannon, which was attended by delegates from their several corps throughout the country,

when the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"That whereas it had been asserted that Volunteers, as such, could not with propriety debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or public men, they resolved that a citizen by learning the use of arms did not abandon any of his civil rights.

"That a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind the kingdom, was unconstitutional, and a grievance.

"That the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, were unconstitutional, and a grievance.

"That the ports of Ireland were by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the king.

"That a mutiny bill not limited in point of duration from session to session was unconstitutional.

"That the independence of the judges was essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England.

"That the minority in parliament, who had

supported their constitutional rights, were entitled to thanks.

"That four members from each county in the province of Ulster be appointed a committee, till the next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer corps there represented, and to communicate with other Volunteer associations.

"That they would not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, until their exports should be received in the kingdom of Portugal as the manufactures of a part of the British empire.

"That they hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as in themselves, and therefore as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects."

They also approved of the following address:

"To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Minority in both Houses of Parliament.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—We thank you for your noble and spirited though hitherto ineffectual efforts in the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on:

the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you, and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal; we know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free: we seek for our rights, and no more than our rights, and in so just a pursuit we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success.

"Signed by order,

"WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman."

At the meeting of the Irish parliament in May, 1782, the duke of Portland, who had been recently named lord lieutenant of Ireland, made the gratifying communication that the British legislature concurred in a resolution to secure full legislative independence to Ireland, and to remove all causes of discontent. The House of Commons, overflowing with gratitude, voted one hundred thousand pounds to raise seamen for the British navy, and provided fifty thousand pounds to be laid out in the purchase of an estate for Henry Grattan and his heirs, in testimony of the national gratitude for his distinguished and important services.

The next great national question brought forward was the everlasting one of parlia-

mentary reform. Public meetings were assembled throughout the country; resolutions were framed, adopted, and published; addresses to the people, and petitions to the throne, followed each other in rapid succession, until the government, alarmed by the wide-spread agitation and popular reception of this well-founded demand, resolved to interfere, and suppress their meetings as illegal. The sheriff of the county of Dublin was fined and imprisoned by the Court of King's Bench for convening a meeting, held in June, 1784, on the proscribed subject of parliamentary reform. Great discontent naturally ensued at this mischievous and impolitic attempt to stifle the voice of the public. On the other hand the government sought, by its accustomed modes, to gain influence in the Irish parliament: peerages were created, lucrative appointments were made, and the pension list was extravagantly increased. Fitzgibbon, the Irish attorney-general, was appointed lord chancellor and created a baron, and afterwards Earl of Clare: he was the first Irishman raised to the Chancery Bench. The Lords had acquired an unconstitutional influence over the members of the House of Commons, which no longer represented the people; and thus, parliamentary

reform was not then, as it has since often been, the fictitious demand of a party or faction for political purposes; it was absolutely required to sustain the first principles of the British constitution—to give the people of Ireland the protection of representative government, which had been annihilated by the most flagrant abuses and unconcealed corruption. For example, it was undeniable that Lord Shannon could return *thirteen* members of the House of Commons, Lord Ely *nine*, Lord Downshire *eight*, the Beresfords *eight*, Lord Abercorn *seven*, Lord Kingston *seven*, Lord Londonderry *five*, Lord Caledon *four*, the Latouches *seven*, Bruen *six*, Foster *five*, and so on; and the minister of the day kept his debit and credit account with the mercenary proprietors of those puppet representatives, not of the people, but of corruption and venality.

Associations of United Irishmen were now formed, one in Belfast and another in Dublin, and James Napper Tandy was the secretary of the latter. The declaration of the members of those associations was as follows:

"I, A. B., in the awful presence of God, do voluntarily declare that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection

[illegible] religious persuasion, [illegible] I will [illegible] persevere in my endeavour [illegible] and adequate represen- [illegible] the people of Ireland. I do declare [illegible] rewards or punish- [illegible] shall [illegible] molest me directly or indi- [illegible] give evidence against [illegible] members of this or similar socie- [illegible] expression of their done or [illegible] or individually, in or about [illegible] persuasion of this obligation."

The Defenders as they called themselves, [illegible] a formidable position in the county [illegible] and from the indiscriminate course [illegible] appeared bent on support the [illegible] Catholic cause. They [illegible] the Roman Catholic magistrates in the [illegible] Kilkenny and fought the Orangemen in [illegible] where they were beaten in the sanguinary battle of the village of Diamond with considerable slaughter.

In Ulster Presbyterians were found together in [illegible] numbers, which formed a band of [illegible] and the avowed object of which was [illegible] and popular, and if fairly and [illegible] carried out, could not but prove [illegible] to society. By effecting the

union of its discordant members, and promoting the advancement of their common interest.

The first Orange Lodge was founded in 1795, by persons who called themselves Peep-of-day-Boys. They took the name of Orangemen, as sustaining the principles attributed to William, prince of Orange, and were most inveterately hostile to the Roman Catholics, whom they sought to exclude from the enjoyment of all civil rights in their own native land!

In 1795, Henry Grattan presented the petition of the Roman Catholics, for the repeal of the penal laws affecting them, in the House of Commons. Lord Fitzwilliam was then lord lieutenant, and exceedingly popular and friendly to the Roman Catholics and their proceedings, and they looked forward with confidence to the exercise of his influence in their favour; but he was mysteriously withdrawn from the Irish government, after very liberal supplies were obtained by an unworthy and deceptive affectation of liberality. Lord Camden was appointed lord lieutenant, and adopted very different views on the subject, and all their hopes of relief vanished: the bill brought in under such propitious circumstances was rejected by a large majority. Arthur O'Connor made a most bril-

liant speech on this memorable occasion, for which his uncle, Lord Longueville, to whom he was indebted for a seat in the house, insisted on his immediate resignation.

It was now suggested that the king entertained some conscientious scruples, and considered that he could not assent to the repeal of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics without violating his coronation oath. This announcement was most disheartening, and occasioned great dissatisfaction, more especially as the ground of objection assumed a permanent and unyielding character, and their attention was now turned to the necessity of obtaining parliamentary reform; and it became a serious question amongst reformers, whether it would not be sounder policy to seek a separation of Ireland from England, in which they would no doubt have the aid of France, than to seek parliamentary reform, in which they could not expect any such assistance. Each course had its enthusiastic supporters. Theobald Wolf Tone, who had proceeded to France to urge an invasion of Ireland in aid of this separation from England, had been very favourably received, and obtained a command in the army intended for the expedition. The French fleet

sailed from Brest in December, 1796: it consisted of seventeen sail of the line, thirteen frigates, and fifteen transports, and had on board fifteen hundred soldiers, well equipped, and supplied with arms and ammunition for a much larger force. The Admiral and General Hoche were in the same ship, and unaccountably separated from the fleet, and did not afterwards rejoin it. The weather proved unfavourable, wild, and stormy, and they could not effect a landing at Bantry bay, and were compelled to return to France.

Henry Grattan, in 1797, again brought the Roman Catholic claims before parliament, and urged the necessity of granting them relief, with his accustomed ability and earnestness, but they were rejected, by a very large majority, and the subject was not again brought before an Irish parliament.

The United Irishmen now gained considerable strength, and formed numerous associations throughout the country. The government considering the oath they had taken, and were administering to their associates, an unlawful oath, prosecuted two persons, named Lennon and Togher, for administering an unlawful oath. They were tried at the assizes of Armagh, and

were ably defended, on the ground that the oath was not only unobjectionable but meritorious and beneficial to the community, its tendency being to conciliate opponents, and unite the discordant members of society. The prisoners were acquitted, and the United Irishmen obtained an important victory.

General Lake thereupon issued a proclamation, requiring the people to deliver up any arms in their possession, and sent the proclamation to be inserted in the *Northern Star*, a newspaper then published in Belfast, and considered to be in the interest of the United Irishmen, against whom the proclamation was levelled. The conductor of the *Northern Star* refused to publish the proclamation, saying that it imputed disloyalty to the people, whereupon a party of soldiers entered his printing office, broke up his press and printing apparatus, and demolished every thing they could lay their hands upon.

The United Irishmen, to keep up appearances, yielded to the proclamation, and affected to surrender their arms, but carried on secret communications with their associates, improved their organization, appointed officers, fabricated pikes, and made every preparation in their

power for their intended outbreak. Arms were now sent by the canal for the yeomanry in the county of Carlow, and when the boat reached Athy, it was boarded and plundered, and the arms were taken off and concealed in the neighbouring bogs. This unexpected occurrence caused great alarm to the government, as well as to those who were peaceably disposed and dreaded the horrors of civil war.

Mr. Arthur O'Connor now proceeded to England on his way to France, accompanied by Mr. Binns, Mr. Allen, and the Rev. Mr. Quigley, a Roman Catholic priest. They were all arrested at Margate, and prosecuted at Maidstone, on a charge of inviting the French to an invasion of England, to substantiate which a written paper was produced, said to have been found in a great-coat pocket, found in a public-house, in a room in which there was no one, and said to be the property of Quigley: it contained an invitation to the French to invade England. Quigley was convicted, condemned, and executed; the rest were acquitted, there being no evidence against them.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who bore a prominent part in the proceedings of the United Irishmen in 1798, was the uncle to the present

duke of Leinster. He was educated for the army, and joined a regiment under orders for America, where he distinguished himself, and was severely wounded. On his return he went to reside at Kildare, near his own property, that county being then in a very disaffected state, and under the influence of the United Irishmen. He was known to have joined them, and a considerable reward was afterwards offered for his apprehension; but he moved from place to place to avoid discovery, and escaped detection until he came to Mr. Murphy's house in Thomas-street, where, having one day dined with Mr. Neilson, one of his associates, he retired to his room, and Neilson on his departure left the street door open (it has been considered that he betrayed Lord Edward). Town-major Sirr, Swan, and the captain of a company in attendance, entered the house unperceived. Swan and the captain ascended the stairs, and were soon in the presence of Lord Edward, who made a bold and courageous resistance. He seized on a dagger, and stabbed them both; the captain fell, mortally wounded. Swan fired a pistol at him without effect. Major Sirr, hearing the shot, entered the room, fired, and wounded him in the shoulder; he also received

a cut on the back of his neck, and was seized by the soldiers. He was taken to the castle, where his wounds were examined and dressed, and pronounced not to be mortal, at which he expressed his regret. He was then committed to Newgate, where he suffered much from fever, and soon after died.

Early in 1798 the army was enjoying the barbarous privileges of *free quarters* in the county of Kildare, in which state of unbounded and unbridled control they entered whatever houses they chose, plundered and occasionally burned them, treating the unfortunate inhabitants with savage cruelty; they also arrested whoever they thought fit, tried them by a hastily-formed court-martial, convicted and condemned them to death, and executed them with the most revolting brutality.

The fate of Doctor Esmonde, the father of Sir Thomas Esmonde, is a lamentable instance of their barbarous proceedings. He rode into Naas, accompanied by a Mr. Montgomery: they were both in the yeomanry. Mr. Griffith, then in command of the Sallins yeomanry at Naas, immediately on their arrival ordered Doctor Esmonde under arrest. He was hastily tried, on a charge of having sanctioned by

his presence a recent attack on the village of Prosperous, and, although perfectly innocent, was found guilty and transmitted to Dublin, where his condemnation was confirmed, without any investigation, as a mere matter of course, and he was instantly hurried off to Carlisle bridge, and ignominiously hanged from a lamp-post, and his body buried in a manure heap. He was an amiable and innocent man, and one of the finest men of his time. Such was the ordinary course of proceeding—accusation was tantamount to conviction.

Six thousand insurgents assembled on the hill of Knockallen, near Castlemartin, the quarters of General Dundas. They proposed to surrender and disperse on certain conditions, and sent a deputation to Castlemartin to conclude the treaty; and, the terms being agreed on, the General attended at the camp, received their arms, and they dispersed.

Major-General Duff now arrived at Kildare, and a body of the insurgents, assembled at the rath of the Curragh, sought to surrender and disperse on similar terms. General Duff accepted the offer, and, attended with a troop of horse, received their arms, and then ordered them to kneel down at some distance from their

arms, which were all thrown in a heap, and to ask the king's pardon for having rebelled against him; and, while upon their knees, he commanded the troops to charge and cut them down, and three hundred and twenty-five men, who had surrendered and given up their arms, were brutally and treacherously murdered.

The insurgents were neither disciplined nor sufficiently armed, and had no experienced leaders to direct them, and were unable to resist the steady assault of regular troops; thus, at Davidstown, ten thousand insurgents were defeated and put to flight by four hundred soldiers. The Kildare insurgents were easily dispersed, but in Wexford thirty thousand insurgents were collected at Gorey, not far from Arklow, which they resolved on taking. Arklow was weakly garrisoned, and not protected either by fortifications or artillery. They were led by the Rev. Mr. Murphy, who being killed by a cannon-ball, they were panic-stricken, and abandoned the assault. They then encamped on Corbet Hill, and determined on taking Ross. Mr. Furlong proceeded to the town with a flag of truce, and demanded a surrender from Major-General Johnson. He was immediately shot, and the insurgents rushed to the assault. Their

leader, Harvey, remained on an eminence during the engagement, in which Lord Mountjoy fell at the head of the Dublin militia. The insurgents fought bravely, and lost five hundred men in this engagement, but were little better than a tumultuous mob. They next assembled at Vinegar Hill, in a state of ferocious desperation, and resolved on making a death struggle for victory. General Lake advanced, and ascended the hill, under a severe fire; the insurgents maintained their ground with indomitable courage, until they exhausted all their ammunition, and being no longer able to resist the enemy, they retreated towards Wexford. The military having abandoned Wexford on their approach, they made it their head quarters.

In June, General Lake, with fifteen hundred men, reached Gorey, and contemplated an attack on Carrigrew. Colonel Walpole was on his march to join him, and fell in with the insurgents: a desperate struggle ensued, in which the Colonel was killed, and his troops fled, and were pursued with great slaughter; they took their guns, and made several prisoners. They were now in possession of the greatest part of the county of Wexford, and in great strength.

The following proclamation, issued by their general, deserves notice:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Countrymen and Soldiers,—Your patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head; thousands daily flock to her standard; the voice of her children everywhere prevails: let us, then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary treasons, which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government to keep the people in slavery. Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the victories you have already won, but an implicit obedience to the commands of your chiefs; for, through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be endangered at this eventful period. All Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders: but what power can resist men fighting for liberty?

"In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished by any wanton acts of cruelty. Many of those unfortunate men now in prison were not your enemies from principle; most of them, compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you. Neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference among the people. Let us refer to the debates of the Irish House of Lords on the 19th February last; you will there see a patriotic and enlightened Protestant bishop (Down), and many lay lords, with manly eloquence pleading for Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the Lord Chancellor and the powerful opposition of his fellow courtiers. To promote a union of brotherhood and affection amongst our countrymen of all religious persuasions has been our principal object. We have sworn in the most solemn manner—have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution. To my Protestant soldiers I feel most indebted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

"EDWARD ROCHE.

"Wexford, June 7, 1798."

The people of Wexford, seeing that the town would fall into the hands of the British troops, sought to make terms through the influence of Lord Kingsborough, whom they held as a prisoner of war. He was induced to make application to General Lake, then in Enniscorthy, stating that the town had been surrendered to him, and seeking protection for the persons and property of the inhabitants, for which he had pledged himself on receiving the surrender. The insurgents, then encamped at the Three Rocks, required Lord Kingsborough to remain with them until they procured similar terms; but General Lake declined treating with rebels in arms against the king, and set out to join General Moore, then encamped in a position which commanded the town of Wexford, and his troops on their march massacred the unarmed inhabitants of the country without discrimination.

General Needham was ordered to scour the country with his troops: they burned the Roman Catholic chapel of Ballymurrin, and several private houses, destroying an enormous amount of property, massacred the people, violated the women, and committed the most revolting cruelties.

The insurgents now abandoned Wexford: some of them encamped at Sledagh, under the Rev. Philip Roche; others took up their position at Peppard's Castle. The Rev. Philip Roche, confiding in the terms made with Lord Kingsborough, proceeded towards Wexford unarmed, but, on being recognised, was seized, dragged from his horse, and cast into prison, and the insurgents at Sledagh thereupon decamped through Scollagh Gap, and entered the county Carlow; the others marched to Gorey, from which the yeomanry fled on their approach, and from thence they retired to the Wicklow mountains.

General Lake entered Wexford, threw the principal inhabitants into prison, and had the Rev. Philip Roche and several gentlemen tried by court-martial, condemned, and executed. Their condemnations were afterwards confirmed by parliament, and their properties confiscated, notwithstanding the illegality of their convictions.

In May following, a large body of insurgents entered the town of Carlow in a tumultuous manner, but, being undisciplined, and without leaders of any experience, got into confusion, and were slaughtered by the garrison, making

scarcely any resistance: four hundred and seventy-five of them were afterwards thrown into gravel pits near the town, with quick-lime over them, and buried like dogs. Several executions afterwards took place on this sad occasion. Sir Edward Crosbie was dragged into town from his residence near Carlow, tried by court-martial, hanged, and beheaded. The rebels had been encamped on his lawn, where he addressed them, and urged them to disperse and abandon their illegal proceedings, and had never taken any part in the rebellion. Two cavalry yeomen were sent to Carlow, bearing, as they conceived, an express from the government: on their arrival they were ordered to kneel down, and were instantly shot! The letter contained an order for their execution.

In June, the county Antrim became disturbed, and a Presbyterian named M'Cracken was the leader of a large body of insurgents, who attempted to take the town of Antrim. A desperate struggle ensued, in which Lord O'Neil, governor of the county, was mortally wounded. M'Cracken was taken prisoner, tried, condemned, and executed. He was cut into quarters, and the bloody fragments of his remains were received by his mother and sister in their aprons.

In the county Down, Monroe became leader of the insurgents, drew up his forces at Ednevady Hill, and marched towards the town of Ballinahinch, where General Nugent was stationed to receive them. They drove the troops into the town, who thereupon gave the signal to evacuate the place, which the insurgents mistook for a signal to renew the fight, and fled in a panic, when they were pursued with great slaughter. Monroe retreated to Ednevady, was betrayed, arrested, and brought into Lisburn, where he was hanged and beheaded. Thus ended the rebellion in Ulster. The battle of Tarah, in Meath, was fatal to the cause in that county.

In Westmeath the insurgents possessed themselves of Wilson's Hospital, and the arms deposited there, but Lord Longford dislodged them, which prevented the intended collection of a considerable force to join the French on their march from Castlebar to Dublin.

In the month of August, 1798, the French landed at Killala, under the command of General Humbert. He had about a thousand men, and a few pieces of cannon. With these he marched to Castlebar, where Lord Hutchison was stationed with a strong force. General

Lake having arrived, took the command of the troops. The French advanced steadily in columns; the English were panic-stricken, and fled like a mob, without order or discipline, leaving their artillery, which fell into the hands of the enemy, while they made the best of their way through Castlebar to Tuam. The French entered the town of Castlebar, and with characteristic levity gave a grand ball to celebrate their arrival. This disgraceful affair has been ludicrously described as "the races and ball of Castlebar." Numbers of the Irish soldiers deserted, and joined the French troops.

Lord Cornwallis, after much loss of time, collected an army of twenty thousand men, and marched towards the Shannon to arrest the progress of the French, but they took a different direction, passed through the county Leitrim, and reached Ballynamuck, where, after making a glorious stand against overwhelming numbers, seeing that it was impossible for them, unassisted as they were, to hold out, they surrendered as prisoners of war. The insurgents and common people were indiscriminately slaughtered, and numbers of deserters were hanged or shot.

The French Directory sent Commodore Bom-

part to assist Humbert, with a ship of the line and eight frigates, conveying three thousand men. In October he reached Lough Swilly. Admiral Warren was in pursuit of the squadron with six ships of the line, a razee of sixty guns, and two frigates. After a gallant fight several of the French ships were captured, and Theobald Wolf Tone was amongst the prisoners. He at first passed for a French officer, but Sir George Hill, who had been his schoolfellow, recognised and betrayed him. He was loaded with irons and sent to Dublin, tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death. John Philpot Curran knew his trial and condemnation were illegal, but could not expect any other result from a formal trial, however the French might interfere and procure his liberation: and the chance of some favourable occurrence was all he could look for. On the day fixed for his execution, Curran entered the Court of King's Bench at the sitting of the court, leading his aged father, and on his affidavit applied to that eminent and humane judge, Lord Kilwarden, then lord chief justice, for a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring up Theobald Wolf Tone, and have the legality of his condemnation investigated, he having been tried

by a court-martial, though not holding a commission in his majesty's service; and on stating the extreme urgency of the case, the writ was immediately granted, and the sheriff despatched to stop the execution. He reported that the Provost Marshal declared that he should obey Major Sandys, and Major Sandys declared that he should obey Lord Cornwallis. Tone's father also returned, saying that General Craig would not obey the writ. The Chief Justice exclaimed, Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody, take the Provost Marshal and Major Sandys into custody, and show the writ to General Craig. The sheriff soon returned with the fatal news that he would not be admitted into the barrack, and that Tone had wounded himself dangerously the night before. The order for his execution was suspended, and he died on the 19th of November, 1798, in the provost's dungeon.

Thomas Adis Emmet, the friend and associate of Theobald Wolf Tone, returned from France full of revolutionary schemes, hopes, and expectations, and took obscure lodgings in a feigned name in the vicinity of Dublin; and his brother Robert joined him in his ruinous projects. They had considerable means at their

disposal, and formed their principal depot for the collection of arms in Marshalsea-lane, Thomas-street, and had another in Patrick-street, where they manufactured gunpowder. Their arrangements were admirably concerted, but the leaders proved unfaithful, and information was given of the intended outbreak a few hours before the time for action arrived.

There was now a large majority in the Irish parliament ready to assist Pitt in carrying his great measure—the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, but there were numerous energetic petitions against the measure from several counties, and a manifest desire to oppose it throughout the country: it therefore became the anxious wish of the government to suppress all discussion on the subject. The magistrates and gentry of the King's County had assembled at Birr, to deliberate on the propriety of petitioning parliament against the measure, when the high sheriff ordered them to disperse, and Major Rogers, who then commanded the king's troops at Birr, advanced at the head of his forces, with four pieces of cannon and lighted matches, and declared that he only awaited the command of the sheriff to blow them to atoms!! Such were the means employed to stifle the

voice of the public. The majority of the Peers was 75 to 26, and the House of Commons was nearly unanimous; and on the 27th Mar, 1800, the articles of the proposed Union were agreed upon, and it took its effect from the 1st Jan. 1801.

Lord Hardwicke arrived in Dublin as lord lieutenant, and Lord Castlereagh, one of Pitt's most zealous tools, was replaced in the office of chief secretary by Mr. Abbot. Lord Clare was also soon succeeded by Lord Redesdale.

In 1802 the general failure of all agricultural crops caused great distress; labourers were unemployed, and, as is usual under such afflicting circumstances, disturbances arose very generally throughout the country. The peace of Amiens had been broken, and we were again at war with France, and an invasion was apprehended; and Lord Redesdale declared that it would require twenty thousand men, all Protestants, to maintain subordination in Ireland.

In 1803, Emmet's rising took place. He emerged from his depot in a green uniform, accompanied by a few others similarly dressed, with a number of armed followers, and commenced his march to the Castle. In Thomas-street they met with a small party of soldiers,

which occasioned some delay. Lord Chief Justice Kilwarden was coming into town, accompanied by his nephew, the Rev. Mr. Wolf, and his daughter, and stopped to inquire what occasioned the crowd. He remonstrated with them, on the illegality and ruinous consequences of their proceedings, whereupon they dragged him from his carriage, and both he and his nephew were barbarously murdered. They were soon assailed by a strong party of soldiers, and fled in every direction. Emmet, with a few conspirators, reached the Wicklow mountains, from whence he rashly returned, and took lodgings at Harold's-cross, in a feigned name, where he was afterwards betrayed, and arrested by Major Sirr. He was tried, condemned, and executed in Thomas-street, the scene of his futile attempt at revolution, and of the barbarous murder of Lord Kilwarden and his nephew.

The Roman Catholics now sought the performance of Pitt's promises, that Emancipation should follow the Union. He admitted the justice of their claims, but postponed bringing them before parliament, saying that from the king's health nothing could be done to remove his conscientious scruples. Mr. Fox and Lord

Longueville, however, brought forward their petition, which was rejected by a large majority. Pitt died in January, 1806, and Fox in September following.

In December, 1806, the parliament met, and Lord Longueville's advice to the Roman Catholics was, to petition session after session until they obtained emancipation. Their proceedings were of little moment until 1810, when meetings were held on the circuits in the south, and O'Connell made his *debut* in Irish politics. Lords Fingal, Gormanstown, and French occasionally took the chair at those meetings, and they assumed a more respectable character. The duke of Richmond, now lord lieutenant, watched them with no friendly intentions, and in 1811 a circular was sent from the Castle to the sheriffs and magistrates, directing the arrest of all persons connected with the appointment of *delegates* to the general meetings of the Roman Catholics. Lord Fingal and others continued to act, regardless of the circular. They were arrested under a warrant from Lord Chief Justice Downes, and gave bail, and the right of delegation for the purpose of petitioning parliament was tried in the case of Dr. Sheridan, and, marvellous to

relate in such times, there was an acquittal. It was a great victory; but, not content with their victory, the question was again tried in proceedings against Lord Downes, and judgment pronounced against the Roman Catholics, and the right of delegation extinguished.

The Catholic Board was then substituted for representation meetings, and the name alone was changed. The question of the Veto now became important as the proposed condition of granting emancipation, by which the Crown was, in substance, to have a casting voice in the nomination of their bishops. The question was warmly debated in and out of parliament, and was under discussion for a considerable time.

In December, 1821, George IV. visited Ireland. He was received by all classes of his majesty's loyal subjects with acclamation and every demonstration of sincere welcome. The effect produced on the corporation of Dublin was something miraculous. The lord mayor and aldermen got a voracious appetite for reconciliation dinners, laid aside their deep-rooted prejudices, forgot their "glorious and immortal memory," remodelled their civic toasts, and gulped down civil and religious freedom, in one

shape or another, in each successive bumper. The champagne animated, and the roast beef consolidated the fraternisation of the most bitterly antagonistic parties, but the dream of hope departed with George IV., and was soon forgotten.

In Spring, 1823, the Catholic Association was formed: the members were admitted on the introduction of a friend, and the payment of one pound; there was no assumption of representation, there were no delegates, and the Convention Act could not reach them. Disturbances arose in the south of Ireland, which were occasioned by the poverty of the people, and they were suppressed by the magic influence of the Catholic Association, to which the people now looked for redress of their wrongs, real or imaginary, and willingly contributed towards its finances. O'Connell proposed that they should contribute one penny a week to sustain the enormous expense incurred in affording such extensive relief: the proposal was adopted, and hence arose the Catholic Rent.

In 1825 a great provincial meeting was held at Waterford, at which O'Connell attended, and was enthusiastically received. Two years afterwards, Clonmel had its meeting, which

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Large subscriptions were now forwarded from America: General Jackson, president of the United States, contributed one thousand dollars. The duke of Wellington became premier, and the marquis of Anglesea lord lieutenant of Ireland. The marquis was a zealous advocate for Catholic emancipation. A representative was required for the county Clare, and O'Connell presented himself as a candidate. The Roman Catholic Association put forth its whole strength to support him against Vesey Fitzgerald, a favourite liberal candidate, but nothing could resist the enthusiasm of the people for O'Connell, and, after a contest of five days, he was triumphantly returned by the people of Clare as their representative in parliament.

The true state of Ireland, and the organization of the people, could not be mistaken by the duke of Wellington. It became too serious a risk to withhold civil rights from an overwhelming majority of the Irish; and on the 6th February, 1829, the king in his speech announced that the Roman Catholic question should be brought before parliament with a view to its final settlement, and should be preceded by a suppression of the Catholic Association, and an end of all political societies.

Mr. Peel accordingly brought in the bill, which passed both houses, and received the royal assent on the 13th April, 1829. And thus terminated the long and noble struggle of the Irish Roman Catholics for a just participation in the inestimable blessings of the British Constitution, and the free enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, the ennobling birth-right of every British subject.

The violent agitation, both in England and Ireland, which preceded the Reform Bill of 1832, and the important changes which it effected in the construction of political parties and cabinets, though topics of considerable interest, do not come within the range of our narrative; we therefore conclude with the grant of Catholic Emancipation, the latest of those historical events within its prescribed limits.

THE O'CONNORS OF BALLINTUBBER, COUNTY ROSCOMMON.

We should not deem it necessary to offer any observations on the descendants of this family, but for the purpose of refuting some erroneous statements which the late Mr. Matthew O'Conor of Mountdruid, in the county Roscommon, procured to be inserted in Mr. Weld's "Statistical Survey of the County Roscommon," Mr. Hardiman's edition of Roderic O'Flaherty's "West Connaught," and other works of considerable authority, to induce a belief that "the O'Conors of Belanagare and of Mountdruid were the only remains of the Ballintubber family."

The grounds on which he relied to sustain his inordinate vanity are three-fold: firstly, that the modern name *O'Conor* distinguished his family from all other O'Connors, as the descendants of the O'Connors of Ballintubber, whom he improperly named *O'Conors;* secondly, that the title *Don*, assumed by his brother, Owen O'Conor of Belanagare, without a sha-

dow of authority, showed that he was the *head* of those descendants; and thirdly, that the descent of the estate of Belanagare from Charles O'Connor, the third son of Sir Hugh O'Connor of Ballintubber Castle, in an uninterrupted course of succession, as appeared by pedigrees compiled by Charles O'Connor (the historian), proved the lineal descent of Owen O'Conor from Sir Hugh.

Great stress has been laid on those pedigrees, and, according to them, Charles O'Connor was born (no doubt at Killintrany) in 1710, and was ten years of age when his father, Denis O'Connor, purchased the estate of Belanagare from Judge French, as hereinafter mentioned, and must have known very well that the estate of Belanagare *did not* descend to his father, as was most improperly stated in those pedigrees. It also appears that Dominick O'Connor of Cloonalis, in whose family the fictitious title of *Don* was first invented,* was totally ignorant

* Martin O'Brennan, LL.D., states that every member of the family is equally a *Don*, just as all the members of the M'Dermott *Roe* family are M'Dermotts *Roe*,—"Ancient Ireland, and Milesian Chiefs," pages 162–3; which is obvious, all being descended from Torlagh O'Connor *Dun*, or *the brown haired*.

of the pedigree of Charles O'Connor's family; and that Charles O'Connor compiled those pedigrees to induce him to believe that he was the true representative of Charles O'Connor, the third son of Sir Hugh O'Connor,* which he manifestly was not; and on which erroneous supposition, Dominick O'Connor devised the estate of Cloonalis to Charles O'Connor's family, in strict settlement, with successive remainders to the O'Connors of *Corrasduna* and *Castleruby*, and disinherited his own nephew and heir at law, the father of Alexander O'Conor Eccles, Esq., now the real representative of the *old Cloonalis family*.

Mr. Matthew O'Conor, in his anxiety to get rid of numerous descendants of the Ballintubber family, erroneously stated that the old Cloonalis family became extinct!! and merged into the Belanagare branch!! and insinuated that Bryan O'Connor of *orrasduna*, the son of Sir Hugh, the ancestor of the O'Connors of *Corrasduna* and the families descended from them, never

* "Memoir of a Controversy respecting the Legal Representatives of the O'Connors of Ballintubber," by R. O'Conor, Esq., deposited in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; page 42

nagare tells us the name *O'Connor* came from *Teige*, which reminds us of an amusing anecdote told of Lord Manners, when, amongst his English friends, the conversation turned on the great difficulty of pronouncing English names correctly. But, said Lord Manners, it is nothing to the difficulty of pronouncing Irish names: a gentleman who held an important office in the court of Exchequer in Ireland, spelt his name Geo-ghe-gan, and he pronounced it O'Neil.

Now the name *O'Connor*, which is found in all the old histories of Ireland, and has been borne by the descendants of Sir Hugh O'Connor, as appears by their deeds, wills, legal proceedings on record, and inscriptions on their tombstones, is undoubtedly the true name. It may be written in two ways—either *O'Connor*, or *O'Conor*; the latter being only an abbreviation denoted by the mark of abbreviation over the *n*, according to the rule of Irish grammar. That there should be a second *n* in the name is satisfactorily explained by Dr. O'Brennan, a profound Irish scholar. He says, "We have found it an invariable rule in the conversion of Irish names into English, that when a consonant was immediately followed by an aspirated letter, that the aspirated or dotted

one became the same as the unasperated one; in other words, that the preceding one was doubled; hence the second *n* in O'Connor, which is beyond dispute the way to spell the name."*

Modern writers have erroneously adopted the name *O'Conor* as equally applicable to every person of the name, without distinction of branch or family. With this view of the question we have nothing to do; we have only to deal with the unfounded assumption that it was *the peculiar mode of spelling the name of the Ballintubber family.* In the *new* Belanagare family it is said that Charles O'Connor was the first to adopt the name. He published his "Dissertations" in 1753, in which he gave the name *O'Connor;* in his second edition, in 1766, he gave the name *O'Conor;* but it is not thereby established that he wrote the name without the mark of abbreviation over the *n̄*, and we rather think that he did not, because we believe he was an Irish scholar, and knew how it should be written. As no such mark is used in the English language, the printer would, in all probability, omit it, not *then* having any type for it; and Owen

* "Ancient Ireland, and St. Patrick," p. 160.

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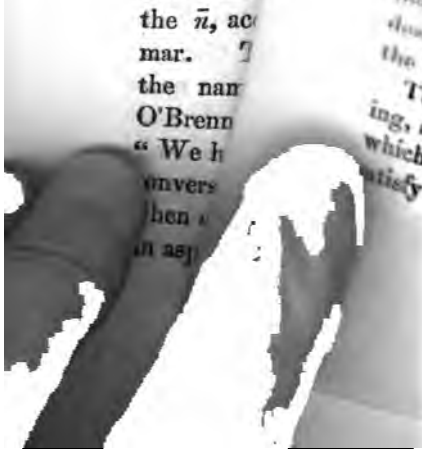

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O'Connor was as much the male descendant of
Sir Hugh O'Connor as Alexander O'Connor
himself, and all the dispute about a lineal male

descendant between Alexander O'Connor and Owen O'Conor was *sheer nonsense*, and had nothing whatever to do with the representation of Sir Hugh O'Connor, which Owen O'Conor was ambitious to assume, but had not the slightest authority for so doing.

The names of no less than eleven members of the old Cloonalis family were inscribed on the tombstone already mentioned, as *O'Connors*, and the inscription having been unfortunately referred to in a recent controversy about the true orthography of the name, it has suffered the penalty of its rude contradiction, and has since been maliciously broken.*

We are far from attributing much importance to any statement of Sandy O'Connor's, who was not reputed to have had too much sense. He was the gentleman who collected a mob, and took forcible possession of the castle of Ballintubber from its fugitive occupants,—a terrified flight of jackdaws,—as part of his royal domains; for which he narrowly escaped a serious prosecution by giving large bail for his future good behaviour.

It is curious enough that neither Alexander

* "Roscommon Messenger," 27th February, 1858.

O'Connor, nor Owen O'Conor, when disputing about their lineal descent, knew who they were descended from, as Roderic O'Connor's issue became extinct many centuries ago; but we refer to their disputes to establish that Owen O'Conor wanted to force the new name on Alexander O'Connor, and that Alexander resisted the attempt *totis viribus*, which cannot be denied. And Dr. O'Conor, in his correspondence with Denis O'Connor of Willsbrook, one of the sons of Owen O'Connor of Corrasduna, having himself adopted the new name, and who evidently participated in the rational desire of his family, that all the descendants of Sir Hugh O'Connor should adopt the new name, addressed his letters to him as *Denis O'Conor*. The following letter establishes the fact:

"My Dear Cousin,—I must trouble you with these lines to send you the enclosed papers, and to beg you will show them to such of your friends as you may think are corrupted by political bigotry, or cramped by the influence of slavery or oppression. *(Burn this.)* I have been obliged, by numberless applications, to establish a general rule that no stranger should come in upon us on Christmas-day to give mass in the parish. I assure you they keep very clear of us at all other times, and would be very backward in giving the least assistance in the administration of a parish.

"Mr. M'Dermott, to suit your convenience, will, if you please, give your family prayers on Christmas-day about 10 o'clock. This mass will serve for the people of Anagh, Cloonroughan, Cloonavindin, &c. Please let me know per bearer your sentiments on this head.

"As I am to have a mass at convenience in future, Mr. M'Dermott or I will occasionally give you mass on Sundays and holidays in future, according as may suit your convenience. I hope you need not be told there is no one more anxious to serve you in all such particulars than your affectionate kinsman,

"CH. O'CONOR.

"To *Denis O'Conor*, Esq., Willsbrook."

Now, Dr. O'Conor was parish priest of the parish of Kilkeevan, and Mr. M'Dermott was his curate. He was brother of Owen O'Conor of Belanagare, and of Mr. Matthew O'Conor of Mountdruid; and Hugh O'Connor, brother of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, was married to a daughter of Owen O'Connor of Corrasduna, commonly called Major Owen O'Connor, from having received a commission from James II. when a mere boy, in compliment to his father, Roderic O'Connor, who was a colonel in his service; but we find him named as Owen O'Connor, Esq., on his tombstone in the churchyard of Ballintubber, which he had prepared for himself at Corrasduna, where he died, A.D. 1766,

and which Mrs. Browne, of Mount Hazel, in the county of Galway, had removed from thence to the church-yard of Ballintubber many years after his death. Thus it appears that the three families of Cloonalis, Corrasduna, and Belanagare were intimately acquainted with each other, and that the O'Connors of Belanagare claimed to be relatives of the Corrasduna family.

Dr. O'Conor, who had taken an imprudent part in the politics of those unhappy times, was obliged to relinquish his parish and go to England, where he became chaplain and librarian to the marchioness of Buckingham, at Stowe, where he wrote his well-known works, "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," "History of the Stowe MSS.," "Columbanus's Letters," and "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare." In these memoirs he mentions that Major M'Dermott, of Emla, in the county of Roscommon, the father-in-law of Owen O'Connor of *Corrasduna*, was the person alluded to by Goldsmith in his "Deserted Village," in the following lines:

"The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,
Sat by the fire, and talked the night away,
Wept o'er his wounds, or, tales of sorrow done,
Shoulder'd his crutch, and show'd how fields were won."

He states that he had the anecdote from Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, who often saw Major M'Dermott, and enjoyed his society so much, that he repeatedly spoke of him, even in his last years, as a person whom he never could forget on account of the vivacity of his temper, and the affecting emotions with which he could tell the history of his own adventures, and that the goodness of his heart procured him the friendship of Goldsmith.

Charles O'Connor and Goldsmith seem to have given the same graphic description of the worthy Major.

On the death of Alexander O'Connor in December, 1820, Owen O'Conor of Belanagare assumed the name of "O'Conor Don," and soon after deposited his pedigree with his friend Sir William Betham, in the office of the Ulster King of Arms at the castle of Dublin, in which it is obvious he took especial care to guard against any severance from the numerous descendants of Sir Hugh O'Connor, by reason of the new name he had adopted, by inserting therein all his ancestors, and their's, as *O'Connors*, and inserting his own name therein as *Owen O'Connor*. He then inserted his son's

name, Denis O'Conor, and having annexed a certificate thereto, by which he certified that the foregoing pedigree of his family was true according to the *best of his knowledge and belief*, he signed his name to the certificate as *O'Conor Don*. We find no fault with this pedigree on the part of the other descendants of Sir Hugh O'Connor. The ancestor of the Corrasduna O'Connor family is stated thus: *Bryan Roe O'Connor of Corrasduna*. But there is a palpable defect in the pedigree in passing over the daughters of Major Owen O'Connor, who became proprietors of the estate of Belanagare, and sold it, as we shall presently show, and which came into possession of the ancestors of its present proprietors by purchase, and not by descent, which negatives the alleged descent from Charles O'Connor, third son of Sir Hugh O'Connor. The ancestor of the present proprietor, who became the purchaser of Belanagare estate, was Denis O'Connor of Killintrany, in the county of Sligo.

A similar mistake was made in supposing Owen O'Connor *heir* of the old Cloonalis family, an aspiration which has been unhappily extinguished. There is also another extraordinary circumstance which requires explanation:

Felim O'Connor, who forfeited the estate of Belanagare, as appears by the roll of attainte of 1691, is not so much as named in the pedigree!! How did he become Felim O'Connor of Belanagare? *Mais revenons a nos moutons.*

Owen O'Conor of Belanagare was universally esteemed as an upright, honourable man, of inflexible integrity. He took an active part in the long struggle for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and attained a very prominent position in their agitation and proceedings; and when the duke of Wellington overcame the pressure of high influence, and his own strong prejudices, (perhaps one of his noblest victories,) and granted Catholic emancipation, Owen O'Conor's sacrifices, both of time and money, were neither forgotten nor unrewarded. He was elected by the Roman Catholic and liberal electors, and the powerful influence and support of the house of Frenchpark, (whose long train of representatives for the county of Roscommon uniformly sustained the cause of Catholic emancipation,) as the Roman Catholic representative in parliament for the county of Roscommon. It was thus that the new and fanciful title of

"O'Conor Don" became better known to the public than many a peerage of the United Kingdom, and very naturally induced a popular but erroneous impression, that the *O'Conor Don* was the real representative of the O'Connors of Ballintubber, and that the descendants of that family, of course, bore the same name with its representative.

This false impression was seized on by the late Mr. Matthew O'Conor of Mountdruid, and he commenced his genealogical manœuvres; got his misrepresentations introduced into Mr. Weld's "Statistical Survey of the County of Roscommon," and Mr. Hardiman's "West Connaught;" and compiled pedigrees, setting forth the name *O'Conor* as of above seven hundred years' standing; giving new names to the dead as well as to the living, and to the old Cloonalis family, *who repudiated* the name, and to Bryan O'Connor of *Corrasduna*, the ancestor of the Corrasduna family, *in order to sever him from his descendants*, and left his own family so fully persuaded that his misrepresentations were irresistibly established, that they thought the new spelling might be insisted upon, as the settled distinction between the descendants of Sir Hugh O'Connor and all other O'Connors.

Under these circumstances Mr. O'Conor of Mountdruid set up this claim in a letter now before us, in which he states, "My father, who knew as much as any man living about his family, often told his children that they, the O'Conors of Belanagare and America, were *the last of the race once so powerful in this country*. It has been said that there is virtue in a name, but now it cannot be denied, that there is virtue in a consonant."

Thus Mr. O'Conor insisted on the *distinctive appellation* of *O'Conor*, under the well understood manœuvres of his father.

But Mr. O'Conor (we regret to find) was aware that this statement was unfounded, for, when canvassing for the representation of the county of Roscommon, after the death of Denis O'Conor of Cloonalis, (who also bore the name of "O'Conor Don,") he wrote the following letter to Roderick O'Connor of the Corrasduna branch of the family, claiming his influence and support on the ground of old friendship, *and as a relative ! !*

"My Dear Roderick—An old friend, relation, and namesake, must feel interested in the approaching struggle; your support and influence will oblige me.

"Pat is working like a man for me. Should you know

of any stray votes (£50 votes) in your neighbourhood, pray secure them for your friend,

"DENIS O'CONOR.

"Mountdruid, 30th July, 1847.

"To Roderic O'Connor, Esq.,
"Rahoon House, Galway."

We have already explained the origin of the modern name of *Don*, in page 86, &c. According to Dr. O'Donovan's "Annals of Ireland," the original name was *Dun;* and Mr. Matthew O'Conor tells us, *Don* is a corruption of the word *Dhunne* or *Dun*, invented about the year 1750, and adopted as being like a Spanish title, which, to say the least of it, was exceedingly ridiculous. Owen O'Connor, in his statement in the *Dublin Evening Post* of 1817, claimed to be descended from the *first O'Conor Don*, who was, he said, descended from Roderic O'Conor, king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, but Torlagh O'Connor, nicknamed *Dun*, or *the brown haired*, was not so descended; he was descended from Cathal Croibh Dhearg, son of Torlagh *More* O'Connor, supreme monarch of Ireland. But we think that Mr. Matthew O'Conor was rather too sarcastic in his observations upon a name borne by his brother, who was so much esteemed, in saying,

the titles of *Don* and *Roe* "were founded on ancient barbarism, long since consigned to oblivion, and *lately* revived by plebeian pride, seeking distinction in names as substitutes for wealth and nobility, and endeavouring to cloak rags and poverty with the mantle of aristocracy."*

We observe, in the very abridged account of the descendants of Mr. Matthew O'Conor which was furnished for the last edition of the "Landed Gentry"—a book of great value, and much wanted in this country, and brought to an astonishing degree of perfection by the extensive erudition and great taste of its author—there are two allegations introduced without any real foundation, namely, that O'Conor Don is the chief of the family, and that the title of *Don* devolved on Owen O'Conor of Belanagare in 1820. The O'Connors have no chief, and it was argued by one of that family, that the chief had no clan. Dr. O'Conor explains how the chiefs were chosen, and for what purpose they were elected, † and they have not required or elected one for several centuries. As to the other question, the claim can have no

* "Recollections of Switzerland," p. 130.

† See page 74.

foundation whatever, as has already been explained in the writings of the Belanagare family.

A curious conjecture has been raised by Dr. O'Donovan's translation of the following prophecy, that the Spaniards might have introduced the title of *Don*. This has nothing to do with the *Dhunne* introduced to distinguish the two Torlagh O'Connors from each other; but it is a curious conjecture, and deserves some consideration, though neither Dr. O'Donovan, nor Dr. O'Brennan, nor Owen Connellan, Esq., who has published a splendid edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters," could trace out any such title in any period of the history of Ireland, with which they are so familiar. The prophecy is as follows:

Tiсfa Feaṙ an éиġa, aiṙd,
Do ḃéṙa ġol maiṙcc (—ġ) iи ġaċ tíṙ,
Buď é ṙiи an Doи ḃiaďa,
Ir biaḋ i m-bliaďиa an a ṙiġ.

(There) will come a man, noble, exalted,
He will bring mournful weeping into each country;
He will be a *pious Don*,
And will be ten years a king.

The first observation that occurs to us is, that the translation, *a pious don*, is erroneous. To arrive at the proper translation we should bear in mind how the word *Don* has been used by the Irish, when applied to designate individuals. We find *Dhu* and *Don*, *Ruadh* and *Ban*, were terms ordinarily applied to designate the complexion of the person, or colour of the hair, as distinctive appellations, or nicknames; they are still so applied amongst the lower orders, as everybody at all acquainted with their habits and customs can vouch from his own experience. We have known numerous instances of these terms being so applied; they are pronounced *Dhu*, *Rhu*, and *Baun* in common phraseology.

The same course has been adopted in Scotland, as is abundantly attested by Sir Walter Scott. In his "Lady of the Lake," "Black Roderick" was "Roderick *Dhu*:"

> "How say'st thou now?
> These are Clan-Alpines, warriors true,
> And, Saxon, I am *Roderick Dhu*."
> Cant. v. ix.

Dr. O'Donovan, in his edition of the "Annals of the Four Masters," translates Donnchadh

Donn, *Donnchadh the brown haired.** Why not give the same word the same signification in the above Irish prophecy, instead of the erroneous one of *Don?*

Now Mr. Connellan had to deal with a precisely similar use of the word *Donn.* In his translation of the "Annals of the Four Masters,"† he tells us that O'Connor Maonmoy O'Connor, Roderick's son, was slain by Manus, son of Floinn O'Finachta, who was called the *Crosach Donn,* which he translates as meaning "The *brown haired* squinter."

The word in the above Irish prophecy is (from the line over the n̄), *donn;* and we have no doubt Mr. Connellan would have translated the words "don̄ diadha," *a pious brown haired person,* which must have been the meaning of the writer, and not as *Don,* about which he could have known nothing, there being no such title either in Spain or Ireland. For the word *Don* in Spain, derived from *dominus,* is merely equivalent to *Monsieur* in France (which is just used in France as *Don* is in Spain, as is obvious). Were we to say, Mr. the

* Year 919, note l.
† Year 1189, note 5.

Count de Lausun, or Mr. the Duke of Orleans, we should be laughed at; but in France, Monsieur le Comte de Lausun, or M. le Duc D'Orleans, are proper expressions; and in the same way *Don* in Spain is put before the name of every person considered as a gentleman, and the notion of considering *Don* as a title of honor is quite absurd.

Dr. Johnson says *Don* is with us used sometimes ludicrously, and cites the following lines as an example:

> "..... To the great Dons of wit,
> Phœbus gives them full privilege alone,
> To put down all others, and cry up their own;"

which seems to us to have been one of the royal privileges claimed by Mr. Matthew O'Conor, in his rambling genealogical excursions.

We were not surprised at finding on the perusal of Dr. O'Donovan's edition of the "Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters," that he was led astray in his account of the descendants of the several branches of the O'Connor family by the insidious representations of the late Mr. Matthew O'Connor of Mountdruid, which he prevailed upon Mr. Weld and Mr. Hardiman

to introduce in their valuable works, and by his indefatigable exertions to circulate them for his own unworthy purposes.

The history of the O'Connors for the last two hundred years rests upon their own family traditions, and evidence not within the reach of historians, and it was, therefore, very easy to mislead them. Mr. Matthew O'Conor had the field to himself, and was sufficiently unscrupulous to take advantage of his opportunities; and, though no man was better acquainted with the fact, that other families in his neighbourhood were descended from Sir Hugh O'Connor, yet he did not hesitate to represent that the descendants of Sir Hugh O'Connor were distinguished from the other O'Connors by the new name *O'Conor*, and constituted, what has been ludicrously called, the *Don family*, though it appears from his own writings that he was well aware that there was no such title in the O'Connor family as *Don*, which he, as already mentioned, turned into the greatest ridicule. The genealogies he prepared and put forward were, as well as the one deposited by his brother Owen O'Conor in the office of the Ulster King of Arms, radically defective.

Major Owen O'Connor, who died in Chester

Castle in 1692, is represented to have been the *eldest* son of Charles O'Connor, the third son of Sir Hugh O'Connor of Ballintubber, which implies that he had *two* or more brothers, and we think it probable he had two, Phelim and another. The published pedigree of the family runs thus:

"Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, (third son of Sir Hugh,) *b.* 1597, *m.* Anne, daughter of William O'Molloy, of Aughtertire, and dying in 1634, was *s.* by his *eldest* son, Major Owen O'Connor of Belanagare, governor of Athlone under James II., *d.* in the castle of Chester in 1692. He *m.* Ellinor Lady Tuite,* *d.* without male issue, *when the estate passed to his brother, Charles Oge O'Conor, Esq., of Belanagare.* who *m.* Cecilia, daughter of Fiachra O'Flynn, Esq., of Ballinlough, and dying in 1696, was *s.* by his son Denis O'Conor, Esq., of Belanagare."†

Now it is erroneously stated in the above pedigree, that the estate of Belanagare passed from Major O'Connor to his brother Charles, and that he was Charles Oge O'Connor of Belanagare. He never had any estate or interest in

* There is no Lady Ellinor Tuite mentioned in the Tuite pedigree.

† See Sir Bernard Burke's "Landed Gentry," last edition, and pedigree of Owen O'Connor of Belanagare, in the office of the Ulster King of Arms, Dublin Castle.

those lands; on the contrary, the estates of *Belanagare* and *Rathnanaly* (except as to one-fourth part forfeited by Major Owen O'Connor in 1691) passed on the death of Major O'Connor to his daughters Anne and Bridget, who *sold them*, in the year 1698, to John French, of Frenchpark; and the one-fourth forfeited in 1691 was sold, by *public cant*, to John French, at Chichester House, Dublin, on the 7th of June, 1703. Thus, John French became proprietor of *Belanagare* and *Rathnanaly*, and granted a lease of them to Denis O'Conor, of Killintrany, and his sisters, and transmitted the estates, subject to that lease, to his son, Robert French, who was a judge of the Common Pleas; and by deeds of lease and release, dated 11th and 12th October, 1720, Robert French conveyed the estate of Belanagare to Denis O'Connor, of Killintrany, who was neither the heir at law nor the representative of Major O'Connor, and could inherit nothing from him or his daughters. Hence it is established beyond question, that the descendants of Denis O'Connor, of Killintrany, form *no part* of the family of the *old O'Connors of Belanagare*, who are represented by the descendants of Anne O'Connor and Bridget O'Connor, the

daughters of Major Owen O'Connor; and that the pedigrees compiled by Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare, *are clearly falsified.* Anne O'Connor married Peter Conry, Esq., named Peter O'Maolconry in Connellan's "Annals of the Four Masters," and Bridget O'Connor married an ancestor of Dominick Corr, Esq., of Frenchpark, a member of the old and respectable family of Durham, in the county of Roscommon.*

And Owen O'Connor of Belanagare was, (according to the above-quoted pedigrees,) as Alexander O'Connor in his statement in the *Dublin Evening Post*, in December, 1817, represented, descended from a collateral branch of the *old* Belanagare family, just as the Mountdruid family is now a collateral branch of the *new* Belanagare family.

As Denis O'Connor was a Roman Catholic (in 1720), there was a lease made to Charles Hawkes, of Briarfield, who was a *Protestant*, for his protection, and when Hugh O'Connor

In "Lord De Freyne in ejectment *v.* Arthur O'Conor," for the lands of Rathnanaly, on the expiration of a lease of same, Roscommon Summer Assizes, 1858, Dominick Corr was proved to be a relation of defendant's family.

turned Protestant discoverer, and claimed the estate of his brother, it was that lease which saved the property from his unprincipled claim. The O'Connors were not ungrateful for the liberal arrangements of the Frenchpark family, for, as we are informed by unquestionable authority, on an election petition in 1777, before the Irish house of Commons, Mr. O'Connor of Belanagare stated, that he brought his voters into Roscommon to support Mr. French, *at his own cost*, as a *tribute of gratitude* to a family, but for whom, he and his family would be at their *loys!!!*

It is by no means clear how Major O'Connor got the lands of Belanagare, or what estate or interest he had in them, or that they ever formed part of the estate of Sir Hugh O'Connor. They are included in the patent of the Manor of Frenchpark, and formed part of the Frenchpark estates!!!

The pedigrees composed by Mr. Matthew O'Conor rest on mere oral tradition, and were sustained by his contrivances, and an unscrupulous suppression of facts with which he must have been acquainted.

The Cloonalis estate never formed any portion of Sir Hugh O'Connor's estates; it is held under

a grant of Charles II. There is not a square foot of Sir Hugh O'Connor's estates in the possession of any descendant of his, that was not acquired by *purchase*. We have adopted the published pedigrees above referred to, which rest on the tradition of the family, and were mainly supported by the alleged descent of the *Belanagare estate*, from father to son for so many generations, to illustrate the erroneous statements they contain. But we do not believe that Charles Oge O'Connor really was the brother of Major Owen O'Connor, or that Denis O'Connor was his son. Now that it appears that the alleged descent of the Belanagare estate to Denis O'Connor was a mere fiction, we can give no credit to those pedigrees, and consider the *new* Belanagare family as the descendants of Denis O'Connor of Killintrany, in the county of Sligo, whose first connection with the estate was as tenant to John French, Esq., under a *lease* of the lands of Belanagare and Rathnanaly, and not as a descendant of the Ballintubber family! *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

THE O'CONNORS SLIGO.

THIS branch of the O'Connor family is descended from Torlagh O'Connor *More*, monarch of Ireland. Donaugh, son of Bryan Luichneach, who was son of Torlagh More, was the ancestor of the O'Connors Sligo.*

In 1515, Sir Donel O'Connor Sligo had the castle and manor of Sligo, thirty-two quarters of land, and a rent-charge over the remainder of the county, with the exception of the church lands and the demesnes of petty chiefs.†

The last O'Connor Sligo was put to death by the English, under General Hamilton, and his estates were confiscated. He had a brother, Cathal, who lived at Doonaley, in the county of Sligo, and had two sons; Murtagh, who left no issue; and Martin O'Connor, the ancestor

* "Annals of the Four Masters," year 1184.
† O'Flaherty's "West Connaught."

of the present O'Connors of Sligo, now respectably represented by Peter O'Connor, Esq., of Cairnsfoot, a gentleman possessed of considerable property in the county of Sligo.

THE O'CONNORS ROE.

THE late Peter O'Connor of *Tuaim Mona*, the mound of the bog, now Tomona, containing the ruins of a monastery, in the parish of Ogulla, barony and county of Roscommon, son of John, son of Michael, son of Roger, son of Hugh O'Connor *Ruadh*, of Castleruby, in that neighbourhood, is noticed by Dr. O'Donovan as being, in 1837, O'Connor Roe, and a gentleman of considerable learning and great intelligence. He adds, that Archdall places Toemonia in the country of O'Connor *Dun*, but says he is decidedly wrong, for it has been in the country of O'Connor Roe *since the distinction of O'Connor Roe and O'Connor Dun began*,* and the said

* "Annals of Ireland" by Dr. O'Donovan, year 1488, note a.

Peter O'Connor Roe is now represented by his sister's daughter, Miss French, now of Larch Grove, in the county of Roscommon, having recently left Tomona.

M'DERMOTT OF MOYLURG.

Dr. O'Donovan, in his note on this family, says: "This family is now represented by Charles M'Dermott, Esq., who ridiculously styles himself *Prince of Coolavin*, a small barony to which his ancestors had no claim." We presume that this was one of the late Mr. Matthew O'Connor's communications, as he was so great an adept in overturning such invidious distinctions, and we find that he was the acknowledged source of Dr. O'Donovan's information respecting the O'Connors of the county Roscommon and of the county Sligo. It is curious enough that wherever we find them mentioned, he is found in attendance!!!